

PEKING REVIEW

7

February 13, 1976

北京周報

**The Dictatorship of the Proletariat
And the Great Cultural Revolution**

**Mass Debate Brings Changes
In Tsinghua University**

*Struggle for New International
Economic Order*

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Vol. 19, No. 7 February 13, 1976

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

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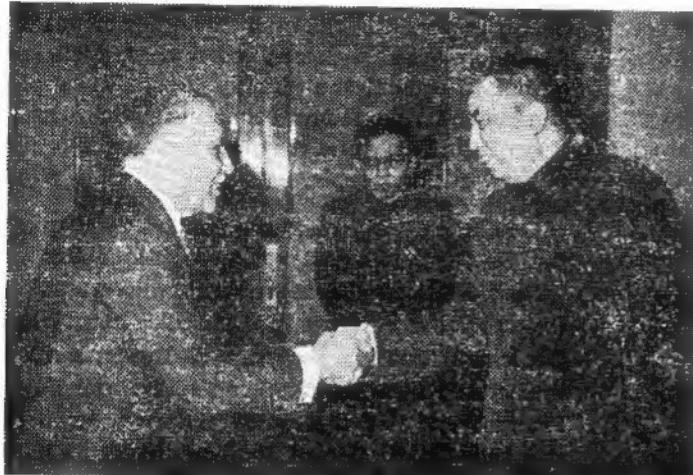
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Acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng Meets First Venezuelan Ambassador to China

Hua Kuo-feng, Acting Premier of the State Council, on February 7 met and had a cordial and friendly talk with Jose de Jesus Sanchez Carrero, first Ambassador Extraor-

dinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Venezuela to the People's Republic of China.

Present were Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and others.



Going Where the Motherland Needs Them Most

In response to the Party's requirements and of their own will, another contingent of graduates from institutes of higher learning recently left for the countryside, the border regions and other places where the country needs them most.

China's system of enrolment in institutes of higher learning changed in 1970 when students from among workers, peasants and soldiers and other working people with practical experience were selected and accepted. Under the leadership of the Party organizations in the colleges and universities, the students have persisted in the orientation of revolutionizing education, diligently studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, integrated with workers and peasants and actively taken part in class struggle,

the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Both their political consciousness and professional ability have been greatly enhanced after about three years of study.

The graduates have always kept the workers, peasants and soldiers in mind. They have been aware that studying in the colleges and universities does not mean acquiring capital to make a name for themselves or for personal gain but to serve the people. The practice of the Chaoyang Agricultural College in northeast China's Liaoning Province is to enrol students from the countryside and send them back to the countryside after graduation. When this year's graduates held their graduation ceremony, representatives of poor and lower-middle peasants were there with gongs and cymbals to welcome the graduates back to the rural areas.

Before graduating, the students had written applications and letters expressing their determination to go to the countryside and the border regions where conditions are the harshest. More than 7,000 graduates of institutes of higher learning have gone back to the frontlines of revolution and construction in Szechuan Province. Upon their application and with the approval of the leadership, 14 of this year's 1,804 graduates of Tsinghua University have gone back to become peasants and 305 others have gone to Tibet, Chinghai and Sinkiang. Peking University agreed to let 86 graduates go to the villages and the western border regions. All these are firsts in Peking University's 77-year history and in Tsinghua University's 64 years.

The actions of the worker, peasant and soldier students demonstrate the superiority of the revolution in education and are a forceful rebuttal to the absurdities spread around in educational circles.

Announcement

The historic visit to China made by President Richard Nixon of the United States of America and Mrs. Nixon and the issuance of the joint communique by China and the United States in 1972 have played a significant role in improving Sino-U.S. relations. The Chinese side and former President Nixon both consider that a revisit to China by him will be appropriate. The Government of the People's Republic of China has extended an invitation to him and Mrs. Nixon to revisit China on February 21, 1976, the fourth anniversary of their first visit. They have accepted the invitation with pleasure.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and The Great Cultural Revolution

by Chung Shih

THE proletarian revolutionary teacher Lenin once made the famous statement: "The further that great day recedes into the past, the more clearly we see the significance of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and the more deeply are we led to reflect upon the practical experience gained in our work as a whole." (*The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution*.) The same can be said for China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. As time recedes into the past, the far-reaching influence of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution on consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, promoting the development of the cause of socialism and other aspects will become clearer and clearer.

Great Revolution for Consolidating the Proletarian Dictatorship

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential." ("Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder.) Lenin stated very clearly that after the proletariat has seized political power, the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes will always turn their hopes for a restoration into attempts at restoration and that new bourgeois elements will also continuously be engendered who will attack the socialist system. Without the proletarian dictatorship, therefore, the proletariat will not be able to maintain its political power, defeat the bourgeoisie and build and consolidate socialism. Consequently, throughout the entire historical

period of socialism, particularly after the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production has been completed in the main, whether or not to recognize that there are still classes and class struggle and whether or not to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat are fundamental questions concerning the future and destiny of the Party and the state and of the proletariat and other working people.

It is precisely on these fundamental questions that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has utterly betrayed Marxism-Leninism and converted the world's first socialist country into a social-imperialist country. Chairman Mao has waged a tit-for-tat struggle against this clique and inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the historical experience, both positive and negative, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, advanced the great thesis of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, formulated for our Party the basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and led the whole Party and the people of the whole country to struggle for the consolidation and strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship, thus guaranteeing China's continual advance along the socialist road.

Personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is of tremendous significance to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. After the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production had in the main been carried out in China, Chairman Mao led the whole Party and the people of the whole country in a series of struggles against the bourgeoisie and against revisionism. From the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists in 1957 to the struggle to shatter the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique in 1959 and from the great debate in regard to the general line for building socialism to the socialist education movement in the

cities and countryside, great victories were scored one after another.

However, just as Chairman Mao pointed out in a speech in February 1967: "In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below." Summing up the experience of the successive struggles in accordance with the theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao has finally found the form—the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—which is the inevitable result of the protracted and sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in the period of socialism. This great revolution has forcefully pushed forward the struggle carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, Marxism against revisionism, and has in theory and in practice enriched and developed the Marxist theory of the proletarian dictatorship. The practice of the Chinese people has completely proved that "the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."

Two Bourgeois Headquarters Shattered

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has smashed Liu Shao-chi's and Lin Piao's plots to restore capitalism and has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. The history of class struggle since the founding of New China shows that the toppled landlord and capitalist classes at home invariably try for a comeback, that new bourgeois elements may arise and that the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in society is bound to find expression in our Party. Internationally, imperialism and social-imperialism which want to carry out aggression and subversion against our country are bound to look for agents inside our Party. Representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into our Party will do whatever they can to push a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in an attempt to change the Party's basic line and the socialist system. When the opportune moment arrives, they will come forth to seize political power and replace the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were such representatives of the bourgeoisie. In their attempts to restore capitalism in China, they shouted themselves hoarse to advocate the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and the theory of productive force. Wielding that portion of power they had usurped, they not only exercised the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in some spheres of the superstructure but also tried to change the nature of

socialist ownership in the economic base. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party: "Apparently, we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our base was not solid. From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority—leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers." The question was that the leadership in these factories "followed that line of Liu Shao-chi's."

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the two bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao as their ringleaders were crushed. Their counter-revolutionary revisionist line was deeply criticized and a handful of renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road who had wormed their way into our Party were expelled from our ranks. Thus their plots to restore capitalism were completely destroyed. This was a great victory for the Great Cultural Revolution.

All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie Strengthened

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has strengthened the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure including all spheres of culture, and consolidated the socialist economic base. The historical experience gained in China's revolution proves that a socialist revolution on the economic front alone is not enough and cannot be consolidated by itself. There must be a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts as well. The bourgeoisie has lost the means of production but it still has a superior force in the cultural and educational fields, and it is bound to make use of this "hereditary domain" to continue its trial of strength with the proletariat. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi and his gang made desperate efforts to use ideology and the superstructure to serve their purpose of restoring capitalism and frantically exercised counter-revolutionary dictatorship over the proletariat in those departments they controlled. Such a situation was sharply criticized by Chairman Mao who at the time pointed out: "If it [the Ministry of Culture] refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies"; the Ministry of Health should likewise be renamed the "Ministry of Health for Urban Overloads." With regard to the field of education, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The domination of our schools and colleges by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer."

Marxism holds that the superstructure is determined by the economic base. Under given conditions, however, the superstructure in turn plays the principal and decisive role. When the superstructure (politics,

culture, etc.) obstructs the development of the economic base, political and cultural changes become principal and decisive. If we had not unfolded the Great Cultural Revolution from below in an extensive and penetrating way, how could we change the situation in which the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat in the spheres of culture and education? How was it possible for us to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthen the socialist economic base? In the Great Cultural Revolution, the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao was criticized in a deep-going way, the mire left by the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes was cleaned up, and the proletariat seized back the positions previously occupied by the bourgeoisie. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction that "the working class must exercise leadership in everything," the working class and its most reliable ally, the poor and lower-middle peasants, mounted the political stage of the superstructure. A vigorous revolutionary situation ensued, with a host of socialist new things growing in strength and profound changes favourable to the proletariat taking place in the entire superstructure.

However, we are fully aware that the struggle in the superstructure is still acute and complicated and that the bourgeoisie is not reconciled to its defeat and will not withdraw from this position of its own accord. Since the Great Cultural Revolution started first in the fields of culture and education, the bourgeoisie is certain to make the first moves in these fields in its efforts to negate the Great Cultural Revolution and launch counter-attacks against us. We must resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and carry through to the end the socialist revolution in the entire superstructure, including the revolution in education, literature and art and health work.

Building an Iron Wall to Combat and Prevent Revisionism

The proletarian dictatorship is a dictatorship of the masses, a dictatorship of the majority over the minority. This is where it differs fundamentally from the dictatorship of all the exploiting classes, and herein lies the profound source of its powerful strength. Only by fully arousing the broad masses is it possible to build an iron wall to combat and prevent revisionism so that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be really consolidated. One outstanding feature of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the direct mobilization of the people in their hundreds of millions in the great fight to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Never before in any mass movement have the masses been aroused so

thoroughly and on so broad a scale." Hundreds of millions of people rising up to speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters are like an avalanche which in no time smashed to smithereens the revisionist "independent kingdoms" in some places and crushed seemingly impregnable bourgeois fortresses in some units. No one can ever eradicate the great historical merits of the mass movement. In the Great Cultural Revolution the broad masses of the people received a very profound education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and came to understand the truth that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." They also enhanced their ability to distinguish Marxism from revisionism and the correct line from the erroneous, and raised their consciousness to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin put it well: "Nothing will ever compare in importance with this direct training that the masses . . . receive in the course of the revolutionary struggle itself." (*Revolutionary Days*.) Since the Cultural Revolution began, more and more comrades upholding Marxism and opposing revisionism have come to the fore on all fronts. This is true even in educational circles where "bourgeois prejudices have struck very deep root." (Lenin: *Speech Delivered at an All-Russia Conference of Political Education Workers of Gubernia and Uyezd Education Departments*.) This will surely be of profound significance to combating and preventing revisionism and to ensuring that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled right through to the grass-roots level.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has provided us with extremely valuable experience in future struggles to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a form of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Great Cultural Revolution is of universal significance in the entire historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao has said: "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system."

This instruction of Chairman Mao's points out to us that the emergence of revisionism is not accidental but has its profound class and social origins. Because of the fact that in socialist society there still are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is bourgeoisie right, there are the soil and conditions for engendering capitalism and a new bourgeoisie and there is the danger of capitalist restoration, it is imperative to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

(An abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 1, 1976. Subheads are ours.)

Mass Debate Brings Changes

THE mass debate concerning the revolution in education in Peking's Tsinghua University has brought many changes since it started last November.

Last summer, a small number of persons who clung to the revisionist line that prevailed in the university before the Great Cultural Revolution echoed the absurd views then circulating in educational circles and whipped up a Right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts and oppose the educational revolution. Their aim was to restore the old educational system.

What is the proletarian line in education? And what is the bourgeois line? Should or shouldn't a socialist university become an instrument of the proletarian dictatorship? It is on these major questions that a sharp struggle is focused, reflecting diametrically opposed viewpoints between the majority of leading cadres, teachers, students and workers on the one hand, and a handful of people on the other.

Party-Led Debate

The debate is going on in an organized and planned way under the unified leadership of the Party.

From the outset and at every important stage of development in the debate, Party organizations at all levels in Tsinghua have adhered to the correct ideological and political line. They have displayed the leading and organizational role of the Party and at the same time shown faith in and relied on the faculty and students by fully mobilizing them. Many young cadres who have come to the fore in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are daring and good at thrashing out the issues and have in the course of this struggle shown their mettle. Some old cadres who were once criticized by the masses during the Cultural Revolution are taking part in the debate with renewed vigour. "The present debate," they said, "has deepened our understanding that to correctly assess the Great Cultural Revolution and to take the correct attitude towards the masses and oneself is the new starting point of continuing the revolution."

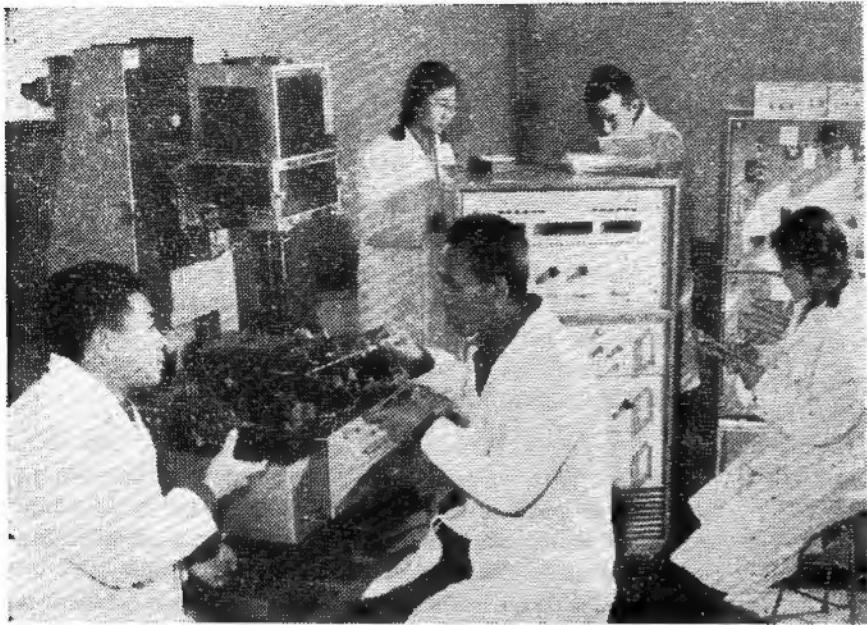
To deepen the mass debate step by step, the university Party committee has seen to it that mass revolutionary enthusiasm is channelled into the right course and it has promptly supported and spread the new things created by the masses.

The mass debate has fired the faculty members, students and workers with still greater enthusiasm to study revolutionary theory. They have assiduously studied works on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. They have also studied Chairman Mao's teachings on the revolution in education, reviewed his instructions concerning the Cultural Revolution and arrived at a more profound understanding through study and applying what they have learnt to the struggle.

Intensive study of revolutionary theory gives the current debate a clear line of orientation in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and adds to the far-reaching significance of this debate. A leading member of the university Party committee said: "Today's struggle may arise again and again in the future. We must not only win this struggle but, more important, we should help educate the masses and arm them with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Once Chairman Mao's revolutionary line takes root in the minds of the people, we will have no fear of revisionism be-



Tsinghua University giving a warm send-off to this year's worker-peasant-soldier graduates who are going to the border areas and countryside.



Advanced equipment produced by the joint efforts of Tsinghua's worker-peasant-soldier students, teachers and workers.

cause the masses who have a high level of political consciousness will rise to oppose and defeat it."

Changes in Ideology

The mass debate is a profound ideological revolution.

How do worker-peasant-soldier students train themselves to be good fighters in combating and preventing revisionism? The university's recent graduates have given a definite reply: "Break with the ideology of bourgeois right, break with the old traditional ideas and go to the border areas, the countryside and places where the Party and the people need us most." In a letter to the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao, they expressed their determination to persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end. This fully reflects the new outlook of the new generation.

From the example set by these graduates, students still studying in the university know clearly what road they should follow. A student from the Chingkang Mountains region in Kiangsi had the honour of seeing Chairman Mao who revisited the place in 1965. Greatly inspired by Chairman Mao's newly published poem *Chingkangshan Revisited*, this student pledged to do his best to remould his ideology and study still harder while at school. He submitted an application to the Party organization of his department asking to return to his native place after graduation so as to contribute his share in building up the old revolutionary base area where China's revolutionary forerunners fought courageously in the past.

Faculty members in Tsinghua have joined the students in the current struggle to defend the fruits of the proletarian revolution in education. They are of

the view: "We should do well in our major subject — class struggle — and put the task of combating and preventing revisionism above everything else."

Teachers engaged in designing have put forward the proposal: "Let's do away with the barrier separating physical and mental labour! We designers should go to factories and work-sites to take part in manual labour while the workers should be invited to take part in designing." Teachers of the civil engineering design section in the Engineering Physics Department took the initiative to leave their offices and join the building workers' teams. The Party organization approved the integration of the two units. More than 20 members of this faculty are now in a boiler factory designing a D.C. boiler.

In the wake of the mass debate, great changes have also taken place in the outlook of the university's more than 180 full and associate professors. They have come to a clearer understanding of the urgent need to remould their world outlook and combat and prevent revisionism. An elderly professor said: "From my 60 years' experience I have come to realize what is real concern and love for intellectuals. Anyone who wants to sow discord between the Party and the intellectuals is merely wasting his energy."

An old professor in the Architectural Engineering Department said: "The so-called proficient students I trained in the past were full of bourgeois ideas after six years' study. They only wanted to seek personal fame and gain. To them, theory was divorced from practice; as a result, they knew how to design but nothing about putting up buildings. The worker-peasant-soldier students today have a high level of political consciousness and they know how to design and to build. The revolution in education is necessary not only for training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat but also for remoulding the world outlook of old intellectuals like us."

Work Promoted

With class struggle as the key link, the mass debate has promoted unity and the revolution in education as well as other work in the university.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." The truth of these words of Chairman Mao's has been borne out by events in Tsinghua. In the earlier period, the hodgepodge spread by the Right deviationists trying to reverse previous verdicts created ideological confusion. However, the mass debate has later helped clearly mark out the two lines and enabled everyone

to see which is right and which is wrong, thereby achieving a new ideological unity throughout the university. This has further stimulated the socialist enthusiasm of teachers and students alike. Taking class struggle as the key link, they are now trying their best to do all work well. While writing big-character posters and taking an active part in the debate, they have not slackened their efforts in teaching and studying, doing scientific research and running classes in an open-door way.

Open-door schooling and the other new things that have made their appearance in the educational revolution are being consolidated and improved through the mass debate. Last year, over 4,000 teachers and students went to more than 100 factories, villages, P.L.A. units and construction sites. They conducted classes there while taking part in physical labour. Since the mass debate started, they have carried out debates alongside the teaching and study in these places. Summing up their experience, they are now

more convinced than ever that "education should be revolutionized."

The mass debate also has invigorated lecturing and studying and scientific research. Of the more than 200 scientific research items started last year, 145 have been completed. Among these, 69 filled in gaps in China's science and technology and some reached advanced world standards. The graduates' high-standard theses and reports were praised by the relevant scientific research institutes. Unlike the purely theoretical papers written by students before the Cultural Revolution, their papers integrated theory with practice and brought tangible results. Before these papers were read, the machines they had designed already were operating in workshops.

The university-run factories fulfilled their production plan ahead of schedule. By December 25 last year, they had met their 1975 production quotas which doubled the 1974 figure.

Mass Debate Wins Wide Support

THE mass debate on the revolution in education successfully going on in Tsinghua University has won support from workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country.

Since the latter half of last November, large numbers of letters warmly acclaiming the debate have been sent to Tsinghua from all over the country, expressing the unanimous view: The revolution in education is excellent! They firmly support the revolutionary struggle in the university to defend and develop the fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

More than 200,000 people have recently paid visits to learn from the university. From government cadres to neighbourhood community activists, from white-haired old men to children wearing red scarves—all show concern about the debate.

The wholehearted support given by workers, peasants and soldiers to this struggle in Tsinghua shows that Chairman Mao's thinking on the revolution in education has gone deep in the minds of the people. Adhering to the orientation that "education should be revolutionized," the university's teachers and students went to more than 170 factories, work-sites, rural people's communes and P.L.A. units in recent years to carry out open-door education, thereby closely combining education with revolution and production. Under the centralized leadership of the Party, workers, peasants and soldiers have taken part in leading the

revolution in education and the main links of teaching. They have joined teachers and students in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Chairman Mao's thinking on the revolution in education, and in criticizing the revisionist line in education and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. They have also played a major role in political work, in drawing up teaching plans, preparing and giving lectures, compiling and writing teaching material and introducing changes in examination.

With workers, peasants and soldiers taking a direct part in managing schools and colleges, education really becomes an undertaking of society as a whole. Consequently, when some people fabricated and spread all sorts of absurd talks in an attempt to change the orientation of the revolution in education and negate the Great Cultural Revolution, they are bound to meet with resistance from the workers, peasants and soldiers. And when the teachers and students in Tsinghua unfolded the mass debate on educational revolution and launched a vigorous counter-attack against the Right deviationists trying to reverse previous verdicts, they naturally win the support of the masses.

By way of supporting the revolution in education in Tsinghua, all Communist Youth League members and other young workers in the assembly workshop of the Changchian Telecommunication Equipment Plant in the city of Wuhan in central China worked three

days and nights to turn out equipment urgently needed by the university for teaching and scientific research. They also sent a letter saying: "The revolution in education is a profound social revolution. The struggle on the educational front is an important component part of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Your struggle also is our struggle and your victory also is ours. We hope you will make fresh achievements to win honour for Chairman Mao, the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants."

The secretary of the Party committee of the Changping Bridge Girder Plant under the Ministry of Railways said in a meeting at a site where open-door education was conducted: "Some people in the educational field attack open-door education as being no good. But we of the working class say: It is excellent! Tsinghua University teachers and students have come to our plant for their open-door education programme;

this is a new thing which has the firm support of our plant's Party committee. If students are trained in buildings, whose successors will they become? If intellectuals do not take part in physical labour, how can the difference between manual and mental labour be eliminated? How can the goal of communism be attained?"

The support from workers, peasants and soldiers in all parts of the country has helped deepen the mass debate on the revolution in education in Tsinghua. Under the leadership of the Party and with still greater revolutionary vigour, the teachers, students, staff members and workers of Tsinghua are bringing about a new upsurge in study and criticism. Adhering to the Party's basic line and firmly grasping class struggle as the key link, they are determined to work together with the people of the whole country and carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end.

Reminiscences of the Long March

Laying the Cornerstone

by Hsu Hai-tung

A new situation arose as soon as the Long March was over. In the battle of Chihlochen the Central Red Army and the Northwestern Red Army, fighting in fraternal solidarity, shattered the traitor Chiang Kai-shek's campaign of "encirclement and suppression" against the Shensi-Kansu border area and thus laid the cornerstone for the task undertaken by the Central Committee of the Party, the task of setting up the national headquarters of the revolution in northwestern China.

Mao Tsetung: *On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism.*

IT was late November, 1935, and a freezing northern Shensi winter had already set in.

"Win victory to welcome the Central Red Army!"

With this slogan as inspiration, the 15th Army Group of the Red Army occupied Changtsunyi, southwest of Fuhsien County, broke into Tungtsun and, at one stroke, wiped out two small adjacent positions. When the battle was over, the Central Red Army led by Chairman Mao arrived in the vicinity of Tungtsun, and the 15th Army Group joined forces with it. This glorious event greatly heartened the 15th Army Group comrades. The Central Red Army, whose coming we had looked forward to day and night, was at last here at our side!

The Red Army's triumphant arrival in northern Shensi at the end of the Long March proclaimed the bankruptcy of the scheme hatched by the imperialists

and Chiang Kai-shek to destroy the Red Army, and presaged a new high tide of the Chinese revolution. The headquarters of the Chinese revolution was to be set up in northwestern China. To this end Chairman Mao, immediately upon his arrival in northern Shensi, worked out an overall plan for a battle of annihilation, that is, the battle of Chihlochen.

Open the Bag

The situation on the northern Shensi front was this: After the Laoshan and Yulinchiao victories won by the Red Army stationed in northern Shensi, the enemy organized five divisions for a new attack. A division on the east route drove northward by way of Lochuan and Fuhsien, while the other four divisions on the west route followed the Hulu River towards Fuhsien, northern Shensi, via Chingyang and Hoshui in Kansu. To smash the attack, Chairman Mao decided to con-

centrate the northern Shensi joint forces of the Red Army to deal the enemy a head-on blow in and around Chihlochen. He instructed us to examine the terrain prior to making dispositions.

Following this instruction, the Central Red Army and 15th Army Group officers above regimental level met west of Changsunyi and set off for Chihlochen that very day.

Reaching Chihlochen some 15 kilometres away in less than an hour on horseback, we dismounted and climbed to the top of a hill southwest of the town to get a bird's-eye view of the place and its environs. This small town of less than a hundred houses was surrounded by hills on three sides. It was bisected by the main thoroughfare running east and west like a white ribbon. At its east end we could see a little old fortification; the houses within had collapsed but most of its stone wall was intact. A small stream flowed quietly through the northern part of the town. Through our field glasses we studied the roads, hilltops, villages and rivers in the area. Every hillock, young tree, narrow ditch or lone structure was noted; nothing escaped the commanders' scrutiny. We realized that to overlook a single ditch or mound could add unforeseen difficulties later during the battle. We whispered while surveying:

"This is certainly favourable terrain!"

"When the enemy enters Chihlochen, it's like getting into a bag!"

Walking from one height to another, we reached a conclusion after careful reconnaissance: Let the enemy enter Chihlochen, then wipe them out. We decided to demolish the small fortification in advance to make sure they could not use it as a stronghold. After the disposition was finalized, the 15th Army Group sent a battalion to pull down the fort that night. Fighting orders were not issued, but by their own experience the fighters guessed that a battle would be fought there before long. They knew full well — the more sweat in peace, the less blood in battle. Therefore, regardless of fatigue, they hacked at the walls until they were down. Captive soldiers who had recently been reorganized into our ranks were mystified:

"Is the enemy really coming?"

"They're coming all right, that's Chairman Mao's calculation," answered one of the veteran fighters.

Battle of Annihilation

In anticipation of a big victory, our first since joining forces, the 15th Army Group stationed one platoon in Chihlochen to stand watch while the main force remained in Changsunyi making energetic preparations. Cadres at various levels went among the rank and file to organize the combat. We raised the slogans: "Win victory to celebrate the joining of forces!" "Welcome Chairman Mao with a victorious battle!"

The Red Army was energetic and brisk and everything was ready. On the third afternoon, under cover of six planes, enemy troops came to Chihlochen just as

expected. They were led by Niu Yuan-feng, commander of the 109th Division.

Chairman Mao issued the order that evening. According to the planned disposition, the Central Red Army and the 15th Army Group were to reach Chihlochen by forced march and mount the siege before daybreak, the former driving from the north, the latter from the south. Both Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Chou En-lai came in person to command the battle. Chairman Mao's command post was on a hilltop not far from Chihlochen. Before the battle, Chairman Mao made a point of reminding the responsible comrades to fight a battle of annihilation without fail. When the battle was on, he admonished them once more: "It's to be a battle of annihilation!"

At dawn, the Red Army descended upon Chihlochen from the hills to the south and the north and pounded it like two iron fists. The enemy was prepared to defend it, but hadn't expected us to get there so soon. The hills on two sides of Chihlochen were already in our hands by the time they discovered their plight. Gunfire from the south sent them scampering north, volleys from the north sent them rushing back south again. Sandwiched in between two hills, the 109th Division sent up such a wild din of shouting and firing that the whole gully reverberated. Our heavy onslaught dispersed the enemy troops, and one after another they surrendered. Those who resisted fell under our bullets.

Thus a pincer-drive of less than two hours ended in the capture of Chihlochen, where the enemy divisional headquarters was stationed. Niu Yuan-feng was forced to retreat to the small fortification at the town's east end, where he put up a stubborn resistance with hardly more than a battalion of men.

The fortification which we had demolished had been rebuilt by the enemy immediately upon arrival the previous afternoon. It was easy to defend, but hard to attack because of the tricky terrain. The unit which we sent to attack it failed to dislodge its occupants. As the second attack was being organized, a messenger reported: "Vice-Chairman Chou is here."

The sun was already high in the sky by then. We watched Vice-Chairman Chou come down the hill with some other comrades. Along the way they stopped to study the enemy fortification through their binoculars. When they arrived the Vice-Chairman shook hands with each of us and inquired in detail about the first attack. On leaving he gave the instruction: The enemy troops are like turtles in a jar. If it's difficult to attack them right now, just besiege them for the time being. They have neither grain nor water, so sooner or later they are bound to make a break for it. Do your best to wipe them out in action.

The gunfire gradually died down; captured arms and ammunition lay in piles on the hillsides and in the town; captive soldiers stood around in groups here and there. The Red Army fighters were thrilled with the joy of victory.

Enсoпced in the fort, Niu Yuan-feng, commander of the enemy 109th Division, sent one message after another to Tung Ying-ping for help. Little did he know that the 106th Division sent by Tung had been routed on its way to Chihlochen, and one of its regiments annihilated by the Red Army.

That night, giving up all hope of reinforcements, Niu and his remaining men broke through the siege and fled west. Hot on their heels, the fighters of our 75th Division pledged: "We'll grab him and bring him back!"

Niu Yuan-feng and his men, not many more than a battalion all told, met their end 13 kilometres away on a hill southwest of Chihlochen. Niu himself was captured.

"A battle in which the enemy is routed is not basically decisive in a contest with a foe of great strength. A battle of annihilation, on the other hand, produces a great and immediate impact on any enemy. Injuring all of a man's ten fingers is not as effective as chopping off one, and routing ten enemy divisions is not as effective as annihilating one of them." (Mao Tsetung: *Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*.)

The battle of Chihlochen once more testified to the greatness and correctness of Chairman Mao's military thinking. The annihilation of the 109th Division and one regiment of the 106th Division completely foiled the enemy's plan to attack northern Shensi, and forced the enemy's 108th and 111th Divisions to retreat to Kansu Province, while its 117th Division which tried to invade from the east also retreated from Fuhsien County. A new situation emerged in the Red area in northern Shensi.

New Situation, New Tasks

Chihlochen was ours. We left the battlefield with trophies and prisoners. At night, as we passed by the village Chairman Mao was staying in, we could see the light still shining in his cave-dwelling. He had been terribly busy these days — why was his room still lit at this small hour?

Approaching the entrance with a feeling of respect and affection, I asked the comrade on guard:

"Hasn't Chairman Mao gone to bed yet?"

"He doesn't sleep at night. . . ." He showed me in.

Chairman Mao was working intently under an oil lamp, a worn blue cotton overcoat draped over his shoulders. Spread out on the table was an old map to the scale of 1:300,000. Apparently our next move was in the offing; Chairman Mao was planning a new campaign.

Putting down his pencil, Chairman Mao offered me his large, firm hand and said with a smile: "You've been fighting hard!"

"It's so late," I said, "and you haven't gone to bed yet!"

"I'm used to it," Chairman Mao said. "How's everything? Have all the troops pulled out?"

He spoke briefly about the significance of this victory and the enemy's present position. He went on to inquire with great concern about our casualties and where the wounded were being put up. As I was leaving he asked me to make sure the fighters all washed their feet and had a good rest. I was deeply impressed by his sincere consideration for the troops and by his meticulous, down-to-earth working style.

It was already midnight when I set out on horseback. After covering a fairly long distance, I looked back to find the light still shining in Chairman Mao's room.

Soon the troops moved south of Fuhsien County to Yangchuanyuan, where a meeting was held to celebrate the victory. Both the Central Red Army and the 15th Army Group sent delegations to visit each other.

At a cadres' meeting held in Tungsun on November 30, Chairman Mao made a report entitled "The Battle of Chihlochen, the Current Situation and Our Tasks." Touching on the significance of this battle he said: This victory thoroughly shattered the third enemy campaign of encirclement and attack in northern Shensi, and laid the cornerstone for the Party Central Committee and the Red Army to set up a vast base area in the northwest and to push forward the nationwide War of Resistance Against Japan.

Chairman Mao explained the reasons why we won: First, the joining of the two Red Army forces and their solidarity (this was fundamental); second, grasping of the strategically and tactically crucial pivot (Hulu River and Chihlochen); third, thorough preparation before the battle; and fourth, our close links with the masses.

We pointed out: The most important reason must be added — Chairman Mao's correct military thinking and wise command.

In his report, Chairman Mao also analysed the international and domestic situations in detail. He explained that Japanese imperialism was then attacking north China with the aim of swallowing up the whole of China. The Kuomintang was convening a traitorous meeting in Nanking. Our victory announced to Japanese imperialism that we would not allow it to subjugate north China and the country as a whole; our victory also announced to the Kuomintang that its policy of national betrayal was impermissible. The Red Army, shoulder to shoulder with the people of the whole country, would use its guns and blood to defeat Japanese imperialism. . . .

Chairman Mao's stirring voice and clear, eloquent words were imprinted in the hearts of each and every Red Army cadre. His words also found an echo in the hearts of the people of the whole country, and expressed the determination of every Red Army fighter to resist Japanese aggression and save the country.

Group of 77's Manila Meeting

Struggle for New International Economic Order

The Group of 77 of the developing countries held its Third Ministerial Conference in Manila, capital of the Philippines, from February 2 to 7. About 700 representatives from Asia, Africa and Latin America attended the conference which adopted a declaration and a programme for action. Romania, the Palestine Liberation Organization, Surinam and Malta were approved as full members of the Group of 77 to bring its membership to 110. A commentary entitled "Unite to Smash the Old and Establish the New" published by "Renmin Ribao" on February 10 follows. — Ed.

THE third world countries and people have shown more and more concern over the question of how to further strengthen unity and co-operation among the developing countries in the international economic field. The Third Ministerial Conference of the Group of 77 held in Manila once again showed the developing countries' proud spirit of unity in struggle.

The Group of 77 was born in the struggle by the developing countries to safeguard their economic rights and interests. For many years it has used its united collective strength to struggle against imperialist and superpower exploitation, plunder and control and has won positive results. It has grown steadily in the course of struggle and has become an important force in the developing countries' struggle against hegemonism in the international economic field. The useful consultations and discussions and the proposals for further strengthening unity and co-operation among these countries at the Manila conference are of positive significance in pushing ahead the anti-imperialist and anti-hegemony struggle of the third world countries in the international economic realm.

It is the strong desire of the third world countries and people to thoroughly change existing international economic relations which were set up on the basis of inequality and exploitation. The declaration adopted at the Manila conference emphatically points out that it is necessary to "eliminate the inequitable economic structures imposed on the developing countries," that international economic relations should be established on the principle of equity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and that each country has the right to exercise full and permanent sovereignty over its natural resources and in all its economic activities. These proposals fully reflect the developing countries' firm determination to persevere in smashing the old and establishing the new in the international economic field.

Imperialism and the superpowers are strongly opposed to establishing a new international economic order; they are making every effort to preserve the

old international economic relations so they can continue their control, exploitation and plunder of the numerous developing countries. The two superpowers in particular, in their intensified contention for world hegemony, resort to all kinds of tactics — from the big stick to the carrot and causing bad blood between the developing countries in a vain attempt to undermine their unity and weaken the third world peoples' struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. Such things can only arouse high vigilance by the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries. The declaration and programme for action adopted by the Group of 77 at the Manila conference as well as the speeches by delegates of many countries to the conference all reiterated with emphasis the need for "identification," "solidarity" and for "closer and more effective co-operation" among the developing countries.

The third world countries and people have come to see more and more clearly that the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order cannot possibly amount to much if there is no solidarity and unity in the struggle. Although specific social and economic conditions in the various developing countries are different, they all face the common task of consolidating national independence, safeguarding state sovereignty, protecting national resources and developing their national economies. Their fundamental interests are identical. Thus there is a solid basis for third world unity and co-operation.

There are broad vistas for the developing countries to strengthen mutual co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Co-operation as such will not only enable them to exchange what they have for what they don't have, support each other and help promote the advance of the national economies in these countries along the road of self-reliance, but also will strengthen the hand of the many developing countries in their struggle against imperialism and the superpowers. The Group of 77 proposed at the recent Manila conference that an appropriate permanent agency of the developing countries be set up to strengthen mutual co-operation and that specific measures be taken in various spheres to help bring about economic self-reliance and progress in these countries. It can be confidently predicted that this proposal will play a positive role in promoting economic co-operation among the developing countries.

The struggle to smash the old and establish the new in international economic relations is protracted, arduous and the road is tortuous. However, as long as the third world countries and people close ranks, steadily increase their strength and carry on the fight indefatigably, they can certainly frustrate imperialist and superpower sabotage and obstruction and continually win new victories.

Anti-Hegemonic Struggle Developments

THE year 1975 witnessed a new situation in Latin America. The struggle to safeguard national independence, security and national rights and interests continued surging forward. The Latin American countries and people directed the spearhead of their struggle not only at the superpower close by, but more and more at the other which has extended its reach so far and wide and is more insidious and frantic. The Latin American peoples became ever more keenly aware of the importance of "guarding against the tiger at the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front gate."

Social-Imperialists Not Allowed to Sneak in

It is the superpowers themselves that drove the Latin American countries to push forward their anti-hegemonic struggle. With the capitalist world in the grip of its most serious postwar economic crisis, U.S. imperialism, which always regarded Latin America as its "backyard," now exploits and plunders the countries there more ruthlessly in every respect. To meet the need of its global strategy of contending for hegemony, Soviet social-imperialism has used despicable tricks of sham support but real sabotage, and sham assistance but real domination in its relations with the Latin American countries. Describing itself as their "natural ally" and vociferously advocating "detente," "peaceful coexistence" and "international co-operation," the Soviet Union expanded and infiltrated in those countries through different channels and methods in an attempt to cut the ground from under the United States. The two superpowers' ever more intense rivalry posed a serious threat to and even impaired the national independence, security and national interests of the Latin American countries.

Government officials and public opinion in Latin America last year showed strong anti-hegemonic sentiments and made out the true colours of Soviet social-imperialism more clearly. They were increasingly aware of the fact that while opposing one superpower, they must intensify the struggle against the other, keeping a high degree of vigilance against the latter. The Soviet Union and the United States were leading the world to war, Mexican President Echeverria pointed out early in 1975. "We are against the attempt to organize a new division of the world and establish a new colonial slavery under the cover of detente," he said. Last October Peruvian President Morales Bermudez said that Peru was "against all forms of foreign domination and all forms of economic, political or military dependence on

any international centre of power." Guyana Minister of State in the Office of the Prime Minister Christopher Nascimento noted that the Soviet Union and the other superpower "are concerned with maintaining a stranglehold on the economics of the third world countries." Government leaders or high-ranking officials in Venezuela, Brazil and other Latin American countries expressed or reaffirmed their resolve to oppose any external hegemonic influence. All this demonstrates that the Latin American countries and people have further awakened. They will neither halt on the road of freeing themselves from oppression by one superpower and fighting for independent development nor allow the other superpower to sneak in and slap the letters of neo-colonialism on them.

Economic Hegemonism Opposed

The Latin American countries and people last year waged their struggle against superpower hegemonism particularly in the economic field. Voices for "winning economic independence" and "getting rid of dependence on foreign countries" resounded in all parts of the continent. More than two-thirds of the countries took positive actions and measures to defend their national resources, economic rights and interests. In defending their sovereign right over sea resources, littoral countries such as Mexico, Peru and Ecuador reiterated their solemn position on their 200-mile maritime rights. The Mexican Government's decision to establish a 200-mile exclusive economic zone last November constituted a new step in opposing the maritime hegemonism of the superpowers. The Latin American countries' struggle against trans-national corporations developed from the stage of individual action to that of united action by many countries. Some Caribbean and Central American countries set up multinational soft coffee, aluminium and shipping companies. Established by 25 countries last October on the basis of regional integration organizations, the Economic System of Latin America is the first economic co-operation and consultation organ in the history of the continent to comprise nearly all Latin American countries and exclude the United States. Setting up the system was not only a positive measure in breaking up the old order of the "inter-American system" long controlled by one superpower, but also a blow at the other which had intensified economic expansion in Latin America.

The Latin American countries and people also fought superpower hegemonism on other important occa-

sions last year. For years they demanded that the United States carry out "a deep-going reform in economic and trade relations" in connection with Latin America. In January 1975, government officials and public opinion in more than 20 countries condemned the United States for refusing in its new trade act to grant a "preferential tariff" to those developing countries which had taken part in organizations of raw materials producing countries and nationalized monopoly enterprises owned by U.S. capital. On the other hand, Latin American countries were very indignant at the acts of the Soviet Union which gave verbal "support" to the establishment of a nuclear-free zone but actually refused for years to sign Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. In a written statement in May, the Organization for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (OPANAL) pointed out that the Soviet attitude "constitutes one of the most patent instances of discrepancy between deeds and words" and stems from "the exclusive interests of the superpower." A resolution unanimously adopted at the fourth session of the general conference of OPANAL in Mexico City called on the Soviet Union to sign additional protocol II — an actual deed which would have committed it to the peace and security of Latin America. At the Geneva U.N. Sea Law Conference, delegates of the Latin American countries which took the lead in unfolding the campaign for 200-mile maritime rights, together with delegates of many developing countries, waged another round of tit-for-tat struggles against the maritime hegemonism of the two superpowers. They exposed the obdurate stand of the superpower that consistently uses the trick of sham support

but real sabotage and, under the signboards of "freedom of fishing," "freedom for scientific research" and "freedom for navigation," opposes the exercise of sovereign rights by the developing littoral countries over their exclusive economic zones and the straits within their territorial waters. At international meetings such as the Second Conference of the U.N. Industrial Development Organization in Lima and the 7th Special Session of U.N. General Assembly in New York, delegates of Latin American countries and other regions of the third world co-ordinated their actions through close consultation against the interference and sabotage plots of the superpowers, the main defenders of the old order. The struggle covered a series of vital questions ranging from energy, raw material prices and international trade to the international economic order in general. Comparatively positive results were achieved at these meetings. The Soviet revisionists did everything possible at many international meetings to peddle such trash as "disarmament" and "detente" in a vain attempt to divert the orientation of the struggle of the developing countries in Latin America and other regions against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. However, all their conspiratorial activities were opposed and frustrated.

The situation in 1975 proved that the anti-hegemonic struggle torrents in Latin America are rolling onward and things there are becoming ever better. Strengthening unity and persisting in struggle, the Latin American countries and people will certainly win new victories this year on their road of safeguarding national independence, state sovereignty and national interests.

New Tsars' Colonial Expansion In Africa

by Tao Chiu



LAST year when the Soviet revisionists openly started provoking the civil war in Angola and intervening in Africa's internal affairs to push big power hegemonism in an undisguised way there, they or, more gave themselves away as social-imperialists with sinister designs on that continent — expansion, plunder and domination, double-quick.

Neo-Colonialism, Moscow Brand

The new tsars have long cast greedy eyes at this tasty chunk of meat, namely, strategically important Africa which is enormously rich in natural resources. Under cover of "co-operation" and "aid" they continually quickened the tempo of expansion in Africa in the 1960s. Calling itself the "faithful and selfless friend"

of the African people, the Soviet Union in recent years redoubled efforts to sell the African states the "international division of labour" trash it first introduced to the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the form of "specialized production" and "co-operation in production." The objective of this glaring neo-colonialism of Moscow's is to get Africa in its clutches and then help itself to raw materials there.

The Soviet revisionists say "co-operation in production" with the African countries is a long-term endeavour based on international division of labour. In reality the Soviet Union uses this to facilitate expansion and control in Africa. It means the African countries should produce goods with native labour and local natural resources while relying on Soviet capital, equipment and

technology. It means the African economy will be brought into the Soviet "international division of labour" orbit, to wit, an industrial Soviet Union and an Africa "specialized" in farming and mining and serving in other respects as a processing plant affiliated to the Soviet economy.

In recent years the new tsars have made good use of this "co-operation in production" in their frenzied colonial expansion in Africa. They now are giving first importance to Africa in "co-operation in production" with the third world countries. It was reported that of the 49 developing countries with which the Soviet Union had signed "economic and technical co-operation agreements" by 1975, 28 were African countries. Thanks to these agreements, the new tsars have succeeded in penetrating some African countries' major industrial branches, such as mining, metallurgy, petroleum, power, machine building and food processing as they vigorously promote "co-operation" in "exploiting explored minerals and building enterprises for processing them." Facts show that when they "co-operate" with these countries in production, the new tsars' intention is to get hold of their minerals and make off with them in the course of production, thereby augmenting their economic strength to contend with U.S. imperialism for hegemony.

The export of Soviet capital to African countries in the name of "co-operation" has been massive. Incomplete statistics show that from 1954 to 1974, Soviet state monopoly capital exported to these countries, which exceeded 3,000 million U.S. dollars, found its way into 200-odd industrial and agricultural branches there, mainly in oil-rich North Africa and West Africa known for its important mineral deposits. "Aid" in geological surveying and mineral exploration accounts for 12 per cent of total Soviet "aid" to Africa.

As this kind of "co-operation" expands, the Soviet Union becomes more and more unscrupulous in grabbing Africa's natural resources. A preliminary statistical survey showed that it took out some 4,700 million dollars' worth of food and raw materials like agricultural produce and minerals between 1960 and 1974. The breakdown, in part, is as follows: cotton, 1,800 million dollars; cacao, over 700 million; fruit, nearly 400 million; rice, about 300 million; and petroleum, some 200 million. More recently, the Soviet Union has showed a growing preference to conclude "long-term trade agreements" with these countries with a view to prolonging its plunder of Africa's important raw materials and ensuring ready markets for its own industrial goods. This, it says, is "an important way of making raw material purchases more stable." In fact, it is an illuminating footnote to the vicious design of the new tsars to turn these countries into their raw material bases.

More Rapacious Than Old-Line Imperialism

One sharp practice of the new tsars in pushing neo-colonialism in Africa is to set up so-called "joint-stock enterprises," an important vehicle for the Soviet Union to obtain raw materials at rock-bottom prices and

exploit cheap local labour power, export capital, promote sales of industrial goods and make superprofits. For instance, it has set up "joint-stock enterprises" in a number of countries in North, West and East Africa which help boost sales of Soviet-made machinery, industrial equipment, tractors, autos, including limousines, electrical appliances, pumps and other industrial goods at great profit. Of its nine "joint-stock enterprises" in seven countries, for example, five are "joint companies" dealing in marine and fishery products and the Soviet Union takes away half or all the catches of some companies.

Capital exports have brought a sharply increased influx of Soviet industrial goods to Africa. According to incomplete figures, between 1960 and 1974, the Soviet Union sold countries there 3,500 million dollars' worth of manufactured goods, of which machinery and transport equipment were valued at 2,700 million dollars, or 77 per cent of the total. Compared with 1960, Soviet exports of manufactured goods to Africa in 1974 grew more than sevenfold and machinery and equipment registered a rise of more than ten times.

Another practice used to exploit the African people is exchange of unequal values. What with "long-term trade agreements," and what with "aid," "co-operation" or dunning for repayment of debts, the new tsars ruthlessly keep down prices of Africa's primary products and raise those of their own industrial goods, steadily widening the "scissors" difference between the prices of these two categories of commodities. It has been estimated that the African countries in their trade with the Soviet Union had a loss of nearly 2,400 million dollars between 1955 and 1974 due to unfavourable trade terms. More hair-raising is the degree of exploitation if viewed from the changes in terms of bartering. While African countries in 1955 exported 1.8 tons of coffee in exchange for a Soviet metal cutting lathe, they had to export 4.2 tons for it in 1974.

All this points out that the Soviet social-imperialists are more rapacious and more truculent than the old-line capital-imperialists in exploiting the African people.

The great African people are awakening. The independent African countries and people have achieved gratifying results in their struggle to consolidate national independence, safeguard state sovereignty, place the national resources at their own disposal and develop their national economies. The trend of opposing neo-colonialist exploitation and plunder and strengthening regional co-operation is growing with each passing day. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this is the great historical current which no Soviet revisionist trick can halt, be it "international division of labour" or "co-operation in production." There is no doubt that the Moscow brand of neo-colonialism will go completely bankrupt.

For Your Reference

Some Facts on Soviet Plunder of Third World

TOTAL Soviet capital exports to the third world between 1954 and 1973 was 15,500 million U.S. dollars. Through massive exports of capital, various long-term economic agreements signed with third world countries and the "joint-stock enterprises" set up there, the Soviet Union sold them in quantity various kinds of inferior quality machinery, equipment and other industrial goods at high prices; at the same time, it took out raw materials, fuel and natural resources at below world market prices. It has been estimated that between 1953 and 1973, the Soviet Union through the exchange of unequal values plundered all kinds of third world resources to the tune of 11,300 million dollars.

Practically a hundred per cent of the primary products — petroleum, natural gas, natural rubber, coffee, cacao, tea and jute — imported by the Soviet Union in 1974 came from the third world countries. These countries also supplied it with 94 per cent of its leather imports, 92 per cent of its cotton imports, 75 per cent of its tobacco imports and 56 per cent of its bauxite imports. The Soviet revisionists see the third world countries as the main base for providing cheap raw materials

In addition, Soviet "aid" and loans are typically usurious by nature. It usually extends loans at a higher rate of interest than capitalist countries in the West want for similar loans. In 1974, it lent Bangladesh 12 million British pounds at an annual interest of 4 per cent as against the normal 2.5 per cent interest rate on loans offered by Western capitalist countries. According to India's *Economic Times*, the Soviet Union had since 1954 provided India with loans totalling 1,940 million dollars, but by the time of repayment the former will have received an amount that comes to 565.7 per cent of the principal.

The Soviet Union, moreover, persistently demands payment from debtors when they are in trouble so as to tighten its grip on them and intensify its plunder. In 1973 it lent Bangladesh 200,000 tons of grain but pressed that country the following year to return the grain. Under Soviet pressure, Egypt in recent years has had to make willy-nilly large shipments of top quality cotton and other products to the Soviet Union at low prices as debt repayments.

The Soviet Union is now making great efforts to set up in the third world countries so-called "joint-stock companies" and "joint enterprises" patterned on the transnational companies of the West, extending its tentacles into the mining, processing, transport and trade departments in order to plunder the wealth of the developing countries more freely and further control their economic lifelines.

Great Russian Chauvinism and Ambition to Dominate the World

AT a recent all-union conference on teaching Russian, the Soviet authorities decided to speed up imposing the language on the non-Russian peoples. They thus revived the old tsar's "compulsory official language system" which Lenin denounced long ago.

Open Betrayal of Lenin's Teachings

In his article *Is a Compulsory Official Language Needed?* Lenin pointed out that "a compulsory official language involves coercion, the use of the cudgel." He said: "In practice, it means that the language of the Great Russians, who are a minority of the population of Russia, is imposed upon all the rest of the population of Russia. . . . That is why Russian Marxists say that there must be no compulsory official language."

Speaking of the oppressed nations later, Lenin stressed the necessity to "not only promote the actual

equality, but also the development of the language and literature of the working people of the formerly oppressed nations." (*Draft Programme of the R.C.P.[B.]*) He also declared that Russian Communists "must in every way counteract attempts at Russification that push the Ukrainian language into the background." (*Draft Resolution of the C.C., R.C.P. [B.] on Soviet Rule in the Ukraine*.)

Openly betraying Lenin's teachings, the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique has done its utmost to exalt the Russian language and push the languages of the non-Russian peoples into a secondary position so as to forcibly "Russify" them.

Trying to justify imposition of the Russian language on the non-Russian peoples, an alternate member of the political bureau of the Soviet revisionist party declared at the conference that "the Russian language

is the greatest achievement of the linguistic culture of all mankind" and that "it is the alloy of the most magnificent gems from the treasure-house of mankind's culture." The Soviet revisionists also claimed that the Russian language is "the language of revolution," which "immensely enriches" the languages of the non-Russian peoples. "It (the Russian language) enables national writers to express and convey all the subtlest nuances in human thought and feelings." That is to say, the languages of the non-Russian peoples are not "languages of revolution" and not "rich" enough to "convey all the subtlest nuances in human thought and feelings." So the non-Russian peoples have to learn Russian and put their own languages in a secondary position or even give them up completely.

Design to Wipe Out Non-Russian Peoples' Languages

By belittling the languages of the non-Russian peoples, the new tsars mean to condemn the former to extinction for the sake of ultimate Russification. The Soviet journal, *Problems of History*, declared: "Linguistic unity is attained by way of widespread acquisition of one of the most prevalent national languages, which under the Soviet conditions is the Russian language." The Soviet publication, *World Population*, said: Today in the Soviet Union, "the people who adopt another language will eventually lose their ethnic (national) identity."

To dupe the non-Russian peoples, the Soviet revisionists had written in their party programme the sanctimonious pledge "to continue promoting the free development of the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R." What "free development of the languages of the peoples" can there be to speak of when these languages will eventually be "unified" with the Russian language?

The Brezhnev clique has openly forced the non-Russian peoples to learn the Russian language and clamoured for "control over the linguistic process" with a view to expediting Russification.

In Khrushchev's time, it was decided that Russian be taught to all primary school pupils. Now the Brezhnev clique has further stipulated that Russian is taught in the day nurseries and kindergartens in areas inhabited by non-Russian peoples. A considerable number of schools in these areas simply do not teach the non-Russian peoples their own languages. It was disclosed in the periodical *Soviet Ethnography* that "the Korean language is not taught" in the middle schools in Lower Dargom in Uzbekistan, a settlement of the Korean minority. In schools where the "two-language system" has been adopted, study of Russian is compulsory, while that of the students' national language is optional, actually just for show.

To further their attempt to do away with the languages of the non-Russian peoples, Brezhnev and com-

pany have gone so far as to forbid them to use terms derived from the roots of their own languages and force them to use the Russian equivalents. The Moldavians speak a language akin to Romanian and rich in its own idioms. The new tsars now forbid them to use it and accuse those who insist on doing so of "trying to substitute terms alien to the nature of the mutual linguistic relationship among the Soviet peoples for unified internationalist scientific terminology."

Lenin called on those sent to work in areas inhabited by non-Russian peoples to endeavour to master the native languages. In November 1919, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in a decision called on the non-Ukrainian employees in Soviet institutions in the Ukraine to learn Ukrainian.

The Soviet revisionists are doing today exactly the opposite. They go out of their way to enhance "the role of Russian" in areas populated by non-Russians and glibly talk about the necessity of non-Russian peoples learning Russian while making no mention of the need for Russian employees working in non-Russian territories to learn the native languages.

What the new tsars have done has produced most grievous consequences. The younger generation of some nationalities simply does not know its own languages. According to *Soviet Ethnography*, the children of the Nivkhi minority in the Soviet Far East "in most cases do not know their own language." The 1970 census published by the Soviet Central Statistical Board shows that half the population of the Soviet minorities, the Evenki, Mansi, Nivkhi, Selkupy, the Saami, Udegeitsy, Orochi, Yukagir and two-thirds of the Itslmen do not speak their own languages.

A Ukrainian literary critic complained that "we see Ukrainian culture and language being pushed into a secondary, 'losing' position." In the Soviet Union, Great Russian chauvinism "has produced much contempt and even hatred for it (Ukrainian)" and "the Ukrainian language is virtually banished from daily life, and those individuals who use it in the cities only become the butt of derision."

The Soviet Central Television in a programme on September 27, 1974 disclosed that two of its viewers wrote to it complaining: "there are practically no native languages in use in the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia." Brezhnev even described the imposition of the Russian language, the elimination of other languages and other compulsory measures for Russification as the reasons why "a new historical entity of men — the Soviet people — has become a reality." That is to say, in the Soviet Union today whoever fails to know Russian is not a member of the "historical entity of man —

the Soviet people." "Is this good or bad?" he asked. "It is good, it is very good, indeed!" he answered himself.

Ambition for Russian to Dominate World

On the question of Russian, Brezhnev and his like have not only revealed their Great Russian chauvinistic features but have exposed their new tsars' wild ambition to dominate the world. The Soviet book *The Rapprochement of Nationalities and National Languages in the U.S.S.R.* openly declared that "each new epoch is characterized by a certain most prevalent language of its own" and that "the period of mature capitalism and its growth into imperialism ensured the domination, never seen before, of the English language." It said: "A new period now begins with the expansion of the social role and significance of the great Russian language on a world-wide scale." This has brought home the fact that aggression and expansion by the new tsars all over the globe will guarantee the unprecedented domination of Russian in the world.

The new tsars actually have established "unprecedented domination" of the Russian language in some countries under their control. Some member states of the "socialist community" have been forced to make the study of the Russian language "one of the primary tasks of all young people" and to declare that "no ef-

fort should be spared" to unfold "the movement to study the Russian language" as "an undertaking of the whole people." The Brezhnev clique announced gleefully: "The need has arisen for a unified language for international intercourse, which under the conditions of the U.S.S.R. and the whole socialist community is naturally the Russian language."

Mounting Resistance

The people of all nationalities in the Soviet Union have begun to be aware of the new tsars' forcible Russification through eliminating non-Russian national languages, and have resisted it ever more vigorously. A Ukrainian writer pointed out that the Soviet revisionists' linguistic policy is to "eliminate scores of national languages and replace them with a single language." In a petition, 17 mothers of pre-school children in the Ukrainian republic denounced the Soviet revisionist authorities' "reactionary linguistic policy," pointing out that this policy is "contrary to the Constitution and Leninism." In the three republics along the Baltic Sea, "there is widespread reluctance to use the Russian language." In Kiev, Odessa, Ivan-Frankovsk and other major Ukrainian cities, there were mass demonstrations for equality between the Ukrainian and Russian languages in the Ukraine.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

Comrade Chou En-lai's Passing Deeply Mourned

Letter of Condolence From Political Commission of Central Committee of Communist Party of Honduras (M-L)

The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of China,

Peking,

China

Comrades:

The death of Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the People's Republic of China, is a shock to the revolutionaries and people of all countries.

Comrade Chou En-lai was a great revolutionary fighter. He worked with great enthusiasm and devo-

tion for the Chinese people and socialism, combated energetically capitalism, colonialism, revisionism and superpower hegemonism and won the greatest sympathy and admiration from the broad masses of the world. The Communist Party of Honduras (Marxist-Leninist) expresses great sorrow for the death of beloved Comrade Chou En-lai, to the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government and people. His death is an irreparable loss felt by us all.

Comrade Chou En-lai practised proletarian internationalism thoroughly and consistently, and pursued the Chinese Communist Party's correct policy of uniting with the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat, the oppressed peoples and nations of the world into a front to oppose all oppressors and exploiters as well as expansionism and aggression by the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. He said at the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party: "No matter how many more major struggles between the two lines may occur, the laws of history will not change, and the revolution in China and the world will eventually triumph." These words convey his absolute con-

fidence in the final triumph of revolution, socialism and communism throughout the world.

The Communist Party of Honduras (Marxist-Leninist) and the working masses of our country share the grievances of the Chinese people over the death of Comrade Chou En-lai, a great leader of the Communist Party.

The Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras (Marxist-Leninist)

Honduras, January 10, 1976

Letter of Condolence From First Secretary of Austrian Marxist-Leninist Party

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

Peking

Respected and Beloved Comrades:

We are deeply grieved at the death of Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, an outstanding communist leader and statesman and a close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao Tsetung. We extend our profound sympathy and sincere condolences for this great loss to Comrade Mao Tsetung, the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the entire Chinese people.

In the past decades, Comrade Chou En-lai made very important contributions to the Chinese revolution and socialist construction, to the building of the Party in accordance with Mao Tsetung's theory and to the consolidation and strengthening of the position of the People's Republic of China. He dedicated all his energies and abilities throughout his life to these causes. He wholeheartedly served all his life the Chinese Party and people and the class and people of the world for national and social liberation. He was boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line and wholly dedicated to the goals put forward by the Party. He had superior skill in combining great revolutionary goals with sober realism. He uncompromisingly opposed modern revisionism. He was very modest and at the same time intelligent and capable. With all these numerous noble qualities and abilities, he became an outstanding revolutionary leader and a great socialist statesman, for whom even his adamant opponents cannot but have high respect.

The current international situation is favourable to the world's people and unfavourable to their enemies—imperialism, social-imperialism and all reactionaries.

The extensive struggle against the two superpowers' contention for world hegemony and preparation for war and the struggle waged by the third world people against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialist exploitation and control are being expanded and strengthened steadily and are pushing the world revolution forward. The great socialist China is more united, stronger and more consolidated. Comrade Chou En-lai fought all his life for the development of this excellent situation and made indelible contributions. His name will remain immutable in the revolutionary cause for ever.

Franz Strobl

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria

Vienna, January 12, 1976

Message of Condolence From Chairman of Communist League of Union (M-L) in Iceland

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China,

The Government of the People's Republic of China

With deep sorrow we have received the pronouncement on the death of Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the Government of the People's Republic of China. This is truly a great loss to the state, Party and people of China and to the Marxist-Leninists and progressive people of the world.

Comrade Chou En-lai was a great and outstanding communist and leader of revolution. His life was devoted to the struggle for building the Communist Party of China, the people's army and the socialist New China.

In the fight against all forms of revisionism he upheld resolutely the banner of Marxism-Leninism and promoted the proletarian revolutionary line of Comrade Mao Tsetung.

Comrade Chou En-lai's active and constructive part in the development of the international Marxist-Leninist movement is of great value and a fine example for the movement.

In the struggle for preserving and developing unity among the world's Marxist-Leninists, in the struggle against modern revisionism and social-imperialism and the aggression of the superpowers, Comrade Chou En-lai was one of the most prominent and leading comrades.

His part in the victories of socialism and communism we value highly.

Peking Review, No. 7

On behalf of the Communist League of Union (Marxist-Leninist) in Iceland I present our deepest condolences to the Communist Party of China, the National People's Congress and the peoples of the People's Republic of China.

Ari Trausti Gudmundsson

Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Communist League of Union
(Marxist-Leninist) in Iceland

Reykjavik, January 10, 1976

Letter of Condolence From First Secretary of Communist Party of Bolivia (M-L)

Comrade Mao Tsetung,
Chairman of the Communist Party
of China,

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping,
Vice-Premier of the People's Republic
of China,

Peking.

The People's Republic of China
Dear Comrades:

With extreme sorrow, we learnt of the unfortunate news on the death of our beloved, respected and admired Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the People's Republic of China, an outstanding leader of the Chinese Communist Party, a distinguished fighter of the world revolutionary movement and a loyal son of the great Chinese people. On behalf of its Central Committee, its entire membership, the Bolivian people and all democratic and patriotic forces, the Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist) extends the sincerest, deepest and brotherly condolences over this irreparable loss, to you—Comrade Mao Tsetung and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, and to the Chinese Communist Party, the Government of the People's Republic of China and all the Chinese people. Our condolences are also extended, through you, to Comrade Teng Ying-chao, long-time comrade-in-arms of Comrade Chou En-lai.

The life and struggle of Comrade Chou En-lai are of great historic significance to the entire world revolutionary movement, because he was a loyal, distinguished, selfless and talented revolutionary leader who devoted his whole life till the last moment to the sacred cause of the proletariat of China and the world. The revolutionary forces of the world have lost a most outstanding leader. But his brilliant image and example will always serve as an incentive, inspiration and beacon for the revolutionaries of the world who are fighting for the liberation of all peoples and the building of a just and happy human society under the banner of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought.

The peoples of the third world including the Bolivian people will always remember the great efforts and tremendous contribution made by Comrade Chou En-lai to the unity of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to the launching of extensive liberation struggles against the superpowers which are seeking after hegemony, plunder and domination and trampling underfoot the freedom and independence of the peoples and nations. Comrade Chou En-lai was a most outstanding defender and guide of the third world peoples; therefore, he will live in the heart of every Asian, African and Latin American with love and gratitude. This sentiment, symbolic of the unbreakable friendship and unity between the third world peoples and the Chinese people, will, like flames, never die away.

Comrade Chou En-lai waged a firm and irreconcilable struggle in defence of Marxist-Leninist principles. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, he brought the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which had usurped the leadership of the glorious Party of Lenin and Stalin to its heaviest defeat. In China, he always sided with Comrade Mao Tsetung in firmly opposing those who tried to divert the Chinese revolution from the correct Marxist-Leninist road. His life embodied a great loyalty to proletarian internationalism. The Marxist-Leninist Parties and other revolutionary movements of all countries enjoyed his friendly feelings and militant support.

The Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist) feels honoured to have a most respected and beloved friend and comrade in Comrade Chou En-lai. From him we can always draw enthusiasm and incalculable support, especially his encouragement, in the struggle against fascism and imperialism. His friendship and support is a red banner which we will always hold high with deep feelings. Comrade Chou En-lai is also a hero for the Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist). He is a solemn symbol of the proletarian internationalism fostered by the great Party and people led by Comrade Mao Tsetung. We know how to honour his memory.

Dipping our flag and raising aloft our fighting fists, we, with admiration, respect and love, pay homage to the eternal memory of Comrade Chou En-lai, great proletarian revolutionary.

Eternal glory to Comrade Chou En-lai, outstanding son and leader of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, good student of Comrade Mao Tsetung, dauntless fighter for the cause of the peoples of the third world and close friend of the Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist) and the Bolivian people.

Oscar Zamora Medinaceli

First Secretary of the Communist Party
of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist)

Bolivia, January 1976

Letter of Condolence From Central Committee of Italian (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Party

The Central Committee of the Communist Party
of China

Dear Comrades:

We have learnt of the sorrowful news on the death of Comrade Chou En-lai, a great leader of the Chinese Communist Party, after long illness.

Comrade Chou En-lai is very well known to all vanguard fighters. He stood in the forefront of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle.

We will for ever remember Comrade Chou En-lai, who was a revolutionary leader of the proletariat in the struggle against the hegemonism of the two superpowers and against modern revisionism.

Our Party mourns the death of the late Comrade Chou En-lai, who is always an example for all vanguard fighters of the international proletariat.

Comrades, please accept our condolences based on the spirit of internationalism which we abide by in the world revolutionary struggle.

The Central Committee of the
Italian (Marxist-Leninist)
Communist Party

Milan, January 12, 1976

Letter of Condolence From National Direction of Colombian Marxist-Leninist League

The National Direction of the Colombian Marxist-Leninist League has expressed deep grief and mourning over the death of Comrade Chou En-lai in a letter to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

The letter said: "People's China is the most reliable bulwark of the world revolution today. We Marxist-Leninists cherish great confidence in your Communist Party, fully believing that the dictatorship of the proletariat in China will continue to shine and shine more brightly under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Central Committee formed of other members educated and forged by Chairman Mao's line."

"The dream of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and other reactionaries will never come true. The Chinese people will continue to advance in unity with the peoples of the world."

In conclusion, the letter said: The Colombian Marxist-Leninist League honours the memory of Comrade Chou En-lai, great revolutionary fighter and great proletarian internationalist.

Letter of Condolence From Central Committee of Communist Party of Brazil

Comrade Mao Tsetung,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party
of China

Dear Comrades:

With deep consternation, we learnt of the unfortunate news of the death of Comrade Chou En-lai, a great proletarian revolutionary, outstanding statesman and a tireless fighter for the revolutionary cause and socialism.

Since the time when our Party became acquainted with the Chinese people's heroic struggle for emancipation, the Communists of Brazil have always followed closely the brilliant course traversed by Comrade Chou En-lai at every crucial moment of the Chinese revolution. Alongside Comrade Mao Tsetung and faithfully applying Comrade Mao Tsetung's teachings, he fulfilled various arduous and complicated tasks, demonstrating firmness, wisdom, flexibility and enormous talent. For more than 50 years, he worked ceaselessly and took no account of personal sacrifices for the triumph of the advanced ideology of the present time and the creation of socialism in the most populous country of the world. As an unswerving internationalist, he made contributions in every respect and through different ways to supporting the struggles of the exploited and oppressed peoples of all continents. Chou En-lai was a staunch defender of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought, and an indomitable fighter of the proletarian dictatorship. The Communists of Brazil always highly appraise the tremendous efforts he made in the struggle to expose modern revisionism and the struggle against the betrayal of the avowed enemy of genuine socialism — Khrushchov and his like and his past and present followers. The Communists of Brazil highly appraise the vigorous struggle he waged in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution for uniting the Chinese people and overthrowing those who had taken the capitalist road. Following Chairman Mao Tsetung's line, he took part in the leadership of the Government and the Party, playing a very important role in the consolidation and strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship in China.

We deeply feel that the death of Comrade Chou En-lai is an immense loss to the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and to the revolutionary

peoples of the world. His life will continue to serve as an example for educating and fostering courageous new fighters fighting for the cause which he had enthusiastically defended and to which he had dedicated his life. The name of this leader of the Chinese Party and great statesman will be engraved for ever in the memory of progressive mankind.

Dear comrades, please accept our sincerest condolences on the death of Chou En-lai, a friend of our Party and the Brazilian people.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil

Rio de Janeiro, January 12, 1976

Premier Chou En-lai's Passing Deeply Mourned

Letter of Condolence From Governor-General John Guise of Papua New Guinea

His Excellency Chairman Mao Tsetung,
Peking,

The People's Republic of China
Your Excellency:

May I very sincerely tender to you and your government and nation my sincere sympathy and the sympathy of this nation in the death of a great leader in your Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai.

He was your friend in the successful fight for China's freedom from foreign exploitation and domination. His courage, devotion and loyalty to his people and nation is an inspiration to all those who love freedom.

Please convey my nation's as well as my own love and sympathy to the late Prime Minister's wife, family and relations.

Yours sincerely,

John Guise

Port Moresby, January 12, 1976

Messages of Condolences From Leaders of National-Liberation Organizations and Political Parties

Leaders of a number of national-liberation organizations and political parties have sent messages to Chinese leaders, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China or the Chinese Government, expressing condolences on the death of Premier Chou En-lai.

George Habash, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, said in his message to Chairman Mao Tsetung: "We extend to you our condolences on the passing away of the great fighter Chou En-lai." "Comrade Chou En-lai is a friend and ally of all the oppressed people and the people of all countries fighting for liberation and progress. His death is a tremendous loss to us all." "However, a great man like Comrade Chou En-lai will live in our hearts as he has bestowed on us experience and merits—a crystallization of his stubborn struggle against the imperialists and reactionaries and his struggle for building a great New China following the victory of your great revolution." "We are convinced that victory is surely in store for the fighting peoples as is shown by your precious experience, for which the late Comrade Chou En-lai wrote a shining, glorious epic."

In a message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Central Committee of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine said: "While mourning the death of Comrade Chou En-lai, the Central Committee of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine expresses its admiration and respect for his long-established progressive and internationalist stand on the cause of the Palestinian people. We express deepest condolences to the leading comrades and comrade members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and to all members of the Communist Party of China and all the Chinese people. Comrade Chou En-lai will for ever live in the hearts of the masses of our people and in the hearts of all the oppressed and exploited revolutionary people in the world."

In his message to Chairman Mao Tsetung, Ahmed Jibril, Secretary-General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (General Command), said: "The Palestinian people have always regarded Chou En-lai as a close and faithful friend and an example to learn in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. To you, we mourn the death of Comrade Chou En-lai."

Expressing deepest condolences on the death of Premier Chou En-lai in a message to Chairman Mao

Tsetung, Holden Roberto, President of the Angolan National Liberation Front (F.N.L.A.), said: "The Angolan people and the Angolan National Liberation Front will never forget the abnegation, the spirit of sacrifice and the contributions of this eminent son of China to the Chinese revolution and to the struggle of the third world people."

Jonas Savimbi, President of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), in a message to Chairman Mao Tsetung, said: "The historic contribution of Comrade Chou En-lai to the revolution of China, to the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world in general, and that of the oppressed people of Angola in particular is of historic dimensions. His contribution is and shall always be a source of inspiration to the struggle of the oppressed people against imperialism and social-imperialism. Comrade Chou En-lai was one of the greatest statesmen of the 20th century. The oppressed people of Angola share with the Chinese people, the Party and Government this moment of grief for the loss of a great revolutionary of our century. Surely, the heroic Chinese people as in the past will be able to transform grief into a source of strength which will make China stronger, thus contributing better for peace, independence and liberation of mankind."

Lucio Lara, Secretary of the Political Bureau of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola (M.P.L.A.), in a message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, said: "On behalf of the Central Committee of M.P.L.A., I extend to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China our deep condolences on the death of Comrade Premier Chou En-lai, the great friend of the people of Angola. His death is a grave loss to the Chinese people and all the freedom-, peace- and justice-loving people."

Messages of condolences have also been sent by Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association; Samy Atari, Secretary of the General Command of the Palestine Al Sa'eqa Commandos; the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front; Mohamed Ahmed Salem of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman; Poilako Leballo, Acting President of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania; the Committee of Work for the Proletarian Unity of Venezuela; Moises Moleiro, General Secretary of the National Political Commission of the Leftist Revolutionary Movement of Venezuela; Jorge Rodriguez, General Secretary of the Socialist Union of Venezuela; Roberto Aponte Toro, Secretary for International Relations of the Independent Party of Puerto Rico; the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico; Francisco Mosquera, General Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Independent and Revolutionary Workers' Movement of Colombia; the Central Committee of the Party of Dominican Liberation; and the National Directorate of the Sandinista Front of National Liberation of Nicaragua.

Messages of Condolences From Prominent Political Figures Abroad

Prominent political figures in a number of countries have sent messages to Chinese leaders, expressing condolences on the death of Premier Chou En-lai.

In a message to Chairman Mao Tsetung, Mohamad Naim of Afghanistan said: "Deeply grieved by the sad news of the death of His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai. Allow me to extend to Your Excellency the expression of my heartfelt sympathy and condolences on this immense loss which is felt by all his friends everywhere."

"Having known the late Premier for many years, his passing away is a sad personal loss which is all the more pronounced by the memories of my call at the hospital during my visit to Peking in 1974."

In a message to Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Princess Ashraf Pahlavi of Iran said: "Premier Chou whom I had the great pleasure of meeting during my memorable visit to your great country was a statesman of universal vision whose pragmatic political wisdom served admirably to realize so many of China's national goals. I request Your Excellency to accept and to convey to the family of the late Premier the expressions of my heartfelt condolences."

In a message to Chairman Mao Tsetung, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Arab Socialist Union of Egypt, Rifaat el Mahgoub, said: "I have learnt with extreme grief that the fine Comrade Chou En-lai, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, has passed away. On behalf of the Arab Socialist Union and myself, please accept, Excellency, our sincere condolences, profound sympathy and deep feelings of sorrow towards this tremendous loss."

In a message to Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Chu Teh, Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf R. Denktas said: "I have heard with profound grief the passing away of His Excellency Chou En-lai, the Premier of the People's Republic of China and a great statesman. I would like to extend on my behalf and on behalf of the Turkish Cypriot community our heartfelt condolences to Your Excellency and to the Government and people of the People's Republic of China, over your great bereavement."

Former Vice-President of Egypt Hussein el Shafei said in a cable to Chairman Mao Tsetung: "Shocked to learn of the passing away of Chou En-lai, a great leader of state. I made acquaintance with him in his work for the building of New China and during his visit to Egypt and later, in 1973, I had the honour of meeting him again during my visit to your country. I wish to express to you my heartfelt condolences on the passing away of this great personality."

Secretary-General Mahmoud Riad of the League of Arab States said in a cable to Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping: "The passing away of Premier Chou En-lai has been received with profound grief by the Arab people. In the name of the League of Arab States as well as that of my own I wish to express my sincere condolences for the loss of such a great statesman and outstanding leader. Please convey my heartfelt condolences to Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Government and people of China."

Former President of the Confederation of Switzerland Max Petitpierre said in a cable to the Chinese Government: "I learnt with distress of the passing away of His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai. I had twice met and conversed with him, in Berne in 1954 and in Peking in 1973. This enabled me to appreciate the brilliance radiated by his strong and charming personality. Thanks to his exceptional qualities, he clearly and effectively orientated the policy of his country and often played a decisive role on the international stage. He was, therefore, among the small number of great statesmen of our time. I personally shall keep a heart-warming memory of him and of my contacts with him."

Chairman of the Christian Social Union of the Federal Republic of Germany Franz-Josef Strauss said in a cable to Chairman Mao Tsetung: "In the name of myself and my party, I wish to extend to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the great Chinese people our condolences on the passing away of the Premier of your country, Mr. Chou En-lai. You and your people have lost a leader of state who steered, by your side as the head of government, the destiny of your important and rapidly developing country over 25 years and more.

With his profound historical knowledge and rich political experience, Premier Chou En-lai, along with you, decisively shaped the face of New China. He contributed to making China a world factor which no one today can overlook any longer.

"His particularly acute sense of the political reality helped him to gain a remarkable understanding of the essential goal of the German policies and show keen interest in an independent and unified Europe. He, with the most important statesmen of your country, came to see that our world should no longer be dominated by the two superpowers but should observe the principle of diversity, the principle of independence of the people of all countries and their resistance to oppression."

Among those who sent messages of condolences were also Fortes Gil, ex-President of Mexico; Andre Betencourt, President of the France-China Friendship Group of the French National Assembly; Fridi Banomyong, former Prime Minister of Thailand; Robert F. Williams, a leader of the black people in the United States, and his family; Marcelino Jaen, President, and Carlos Perez Herrera, Vice-President, of the National Commission of the Legislature of the Republic of Panama; Yasuhiro Nakasone, Secretary-General of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Japan; Tomomi Narita, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Japan Socialist Party; Yoshikatsu Takeiri, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Komei Party of Japan; Ikko Kasuga, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Democratic Socialist Party of Japan; John J. Rhodes, Minority Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives; and Mario Soares, General Secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party.

Messages of Condolences to Madame Teng Ying-chao

Heads of state or government or their wives and prominent figures of various countries have cabled or written to Madame Teng Ying-chao, lifelong comrade-in-arms and widow of Premier Chou En-lai, to extend condolences on the death of Premier Chou En-lai.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Democratic Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, and his wife Monique Sihanouk say in their letter: "We learn with extreme grief of the sad news of the demise of His Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. His death is an immense loss not only to China, but also to Cambodia, the third world and the peoples the world over.

"From his youth to his last breath, His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai dedicated himself heart and soul to the Chinese people, his fatherland, and to the struggle, under the leadership of the respected and be-

loved Chairman Mao, for national liberation, and for the triumphant realization of the ideals of people's democracy, justice, social progress, economic development, socialism and communism. This struggle was also aimed at supporting all the oppressed people and all those countries that had fallen a victim to imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and Zionism as well as helping all the countries which want to free themselves from the state of under-development to realize their desire for independence, sovereignty, liberty, social progress and economic development.

"In this lofty revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people led by Chairman Mao, His Excellency Chou En-lai, as a worthy and faithful comrade-in-arms and number one intimate co-worker of Chairman Mao, had played a most important role. His highly patriotic spirit, his ability, dynamism, efficiency and wisdom had won boundless admiration throughout the world. The entire

life of His Excellency Chou En-lai was characterized by his unreserved dedication and devotion — perfect and exemplary devotion — to the nation, the people, Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party, the people's army of China and to internationalism of the People's Republic of China."

The letter says: "From the first day of our struggle to its victory, His Excellency Chou En-lai, consistently following the lofty directions of Chairman Mao, spared no effort in rendering the greatest assistance to the Cambodian people. Following Chairman Mao's guidance, His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai worked day and night to solve questions relating to assistance to Cambodia. People's China had given immeasurable and incomparable support and assistance to Cambodia which won complete victory on April 17, 1975."

"His Excellency Chou En-lai will always remain in our hearts, and we will always cherish his memory."

"We are convinced that the Cambodian people will always remember the respected Premier Chou En-lai, for he was the best and greatest friend and supporter of the Cambodian people," it adds.

In conclusion, the letter says: "At the time of your extreme grief, you have the biggest consolation that the respected and beloved Chairman Mao and all the Chinese people mourn with deep grief your most outstanding husband and correctly regard that he is an immortal image of revolutionary China and that he had performed magnificent services to the prosperity of China, the rapid development of socialist construction in all fields and to the unmatched high prestige China enjoys in the world. You have also the consolation that all peoples and all countries, Democratic Cambodia in particular, unanimously pay respects to the memory of His Excellency Chou En-lai and maintain that he was one of the greatest men in world history. The freedom-, justice- and peace-loving and progressive people of all countries will always remember him."

Samdech Penn Nouth, Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Cambodia and Chairman of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the National United Front of Cambodia, and Madame Penn Nouth say in their letter: "We were overwhelmed with grief to learn of the news of the death of His Excellency Chou En-lai. We feel sad at the loss of an eminent hero of the Chinese people. We express our deep condolences to you, Madame, and to all the Chinese people."

"We will never forget that His Excellency Chou En-lai and you, Madame, laid the foundation of the great friendship between Cambodia and China."

"We should turn grief into strength and work for further consolidation of the great lasting friendship between the peoples of our two countries."

Comrade Kim Song Ae, wife of Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, says in her message: "Deeply grieved to learn of the death after long illness of Comrade Chou En-lai, a long-tested outstanding leader of the Communist Party

of China and the People's Republic of China, a close friend of the Korean people, a famous activist of the international communist movement and workers' movement, I extend with deep sorrow my profound condolences to you."

"Comrade Chou En-lai has passed away, but his immortal services to the victory of the Chinese revolution and prosperity of the country, to the victory of the common cause of the peoples of Korea and China and the revolutionary peoples the world over will shine for ever."

Comrade Vito Kapo, Chairman of the Albanian Women's Union, says in her message: "I share your sorrow over the passing away of Comrade Chou En-lai. As we know personally, Comrade Chou En-lai was a great leader of the Chinese Party and state, a dauntless revolutionary, an unwavering Marxist-Leninist much cherished by the Chinese people and internationally, and a closest and sincerest friend of our people. He will be engraved in our hearts for ever."

President Ne Win of Burma says in his message: "I share your grief at this sad hour. Premier Chou En-lai bore his pain with his usual fortitude and bravery, and you who had stood by him all the historic years have done likewise. I missed him for not being able to go to his bedside when I was last in Peking recently, though you were kind enough to personally take my greetings to him. We shall all miss him ever more as time goes by, for what he had achieved in his life of dedicated service will stand as monuments to his memory."

President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania says in his message: "On the occasion of the demise of Premier Chou En-lai, I extend to you the deepest sympathy on behalf of my wife and in my own name. We share your grief, because the death of your husband not only caused a loss to the whole mankind, but also bereaved us of one of our dearest friends. We had the privilege of appreciating the inimitable enthusiasm, noble qualities, illustrious talent and wisdom of the great one who had passed away."

Prime Minister Takeo Miki of Japan says in his message: "I am extremely grieved to learn of the demise of Premier Chou En-lai. I sincerely wish that Premier Chou will rest in peace, and I extend my condolences."

Premier Mamdouh Salem of Egypt says in his message: "I am extremely grieved to learn of the demise of His Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

"For this great misery of the friendly Chinese people, in my own name and on behalf of the government, I extend to Your Excellency and your family my deepest and heartfelt condolences and most cordial sympathies."

Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel of Turkey says in his message: "Deeply grieved by the sad news of the passing away of your beloved husband His Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the Peo-

ple's Republic of China, my wife and I hasten to express to you and the members of your family our sincere condolences and deepest sympathy."

Prime Minister Martti Miettunen of Finland says in his message: "Deeply moved by the news of the passing away of your husband Premier Chou En-lai, longstanding and eminent Chinese statesman. I wish to extend to you, Madame, my sincere feelings of sympathy at this time of deep sorrow."

Prime Minister J.M. den Uyl of the Netherlands says in his message: "Please accept also on behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands my most sincere condolences with the passing away of your husband. The death of Premier Chou En-lai has bereft your country and the world at large of a gifted leader and eminent statesman. I share your profound personal loss."

Prime Minister Leo Tindemans of Belgium says in his message: "Grieved to learn of the news that has brought you great misery. I extend to you my deep condolences. All those who were fortunate to be acquainted with the Premier will always remember him."

President Gerald R. Ford of the United States says in his message: "Mrs. Ford and I wish to express to you our deepest sympathy on the death of Premier Chou En-lai.

"In my meeting with the Premier during my first visit to China, his wisdom and understanding of human affairs left a lasting impression on me. It was these qualities which enabled him to make such an important contribution to the history of his country. Americans will particularly remember him for his major role in forging new ties of friendship between our two peoples."

Shahbanou Farah Pahlavi of Iran says in her message: "I am profoundly saddened by the news of the death of your esteemed husband."

"The loss of Premier Chou En-lai, whom I had the great pleasure of meeting during my memorable visit to your country, has deprived China of a wise and dedicated leader and statesman whose devotion to the welfare and prosperity of his people has earned the admiration of all."

"In these mournful circumstances, I wish to convey to you and the members of your family the expression of my deepest sympathy and heartfelt condolences."

Queen Mother Ratna of Nepal says in her message: "Heartfelt condolence on the sad demise of your beloved husband."

Others who have sent messages or letters of condolences are: Kakuei Tanaka, former Prime Minister of Japan; Lois Snow, widow of Edgar Snow; Mike Mansfield, Democratic Party leader of the U.S. Senate; Julie Nixon Eisenhower, daughter of former U.S. President Richard Nixon; Chen Pien Li, Li Cheng-tao and Wu Chien-hsiung, U.S. scholars of Chinese origin; Han Suyin, famous writer; and other foreign friends.

* * * * *

Leaders of some Marxist-Leninist Parties, their wives and some other foreign friends also sent telegrams or letters to Comrade Teng Ying-chao, expressing grievous condolences.

The letter from Comrade Thakin Ba Thein Tin, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, says: "Comrade Chou En-lai was a great proletarian revolutionary. He granted a tremendous help to the Communist Party of Burma and the Burmese revolution. His death is an enormous loss not only for the Communist Party of China but also for all the political parties and organizations which uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the Communist Party of Burma included.

"Let us turn grief into strength, learn from the brilliant example of Comrade Chou En-lai, and redouble our effort in the struggle for fulfilling the unaccomplished cause of the proletarian revolution in Burma, China and the rest of the world!"

The message from Comrade E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), and his wife Comrade J.A. Hill, reads: "Dearest Comrade Teng Ying-chao our personal heartfelt sympathy in your tragic loss."

The letter from Comrade Kazimierz Mijal, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Poland, says: "I learnt, with extreme grief, of the death of Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and your dearest. . . Please accept profound regards from me, who had the honour to be acquainted with Comrade Chou En-lai and who personally felt his wisdom, modesty, and tremendous warmth and attention for the revolutionary activities in Poland."

The letter from Comrades Khieu Ponnary and Ieng Thirith says: "The news on the death of Comrade Chou En-lai, a lofty leader of the great Chinese people, fills us with extreme grief. Comrade Chou En-lai devoted his valuable life unconditionally and wholly to his motherland, to the Chinese people, to the Communist Party of China and to the Chinese proletariat.

"Moreover, Comrade Chou En-lai was an outstanding hero of the international proletariat. Comrade Chou En-lai worked painstakingly day and night for the people's democratic revolution and socialist revolution the world over. And particularly for the national-liberation struggle of the weak and small countries which were bullied by imperialism and colonialism, Comrade Chou En-lai was their active supporter and staunch guard."

The letter continues: "For us the Cambodian people, Comrade Chou En-lai was our most intimate, most sincere and great comrade-in-arms. He was a builder of the great militant unity and great fraternal friendship

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ROUND THE WORLD

ROMANIA

Comrade Ceausescu on The Role of the State

Romania's First Congress of County People's Councils and Chairmen of People's Councils of all counties, cities and townships was held in Bucharest from February 4 to 6. Eight thousand delegates attended.

The congress discussed Romania's 1976-80 regional plan for economic and social development, the tasks of People's Councils in developing industry and agriculture; in investment, construction, regional planning and municipal construction; in protecting and developing forest resources and building water conservancy works; in manpower training and improvement in education, culture and public health. Relevant resolutions were adopted.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu made the opening speech at the congress.

He said that the aim of this congress was to sum up the achievements won by the Romanian people under the leadership of the Party in carrying out the Five-Year Plan (1971-75) and to discuss targets and tasks for the future.

Referring to the role of the state, he said: "As far as its nature is concerned, the state is a product of the irreconcilable antagonism between opposing classes. It is also a political form in which a number of classes rule a number of others."

Quoting Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, he stressed that in the period of the revolutionary transformation of a capitalist society into a communist one, there corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Ceausescu continued: "People's Councils undertake impor-

tant tasks in defending the revolutionary fruits of the people, in perfecting the socialist relations of production and in carrying out the Party's programme."

He stressed: "In making efforts to raise the role of our socialist state and to improve its work, we will continue to pay special attention to safeguarding the revolutionary fruits of the people, to a defence capability ensuring the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state and guaranteeing the creative and peaceful work of our people. Therefore, we will take all necessary measures to make our armed forces well equipped and well trained and to raise the level of the work of all organs in the ministry of the interior and that of justice."

At the end of the congress, Comrade Ceausescu stressed that the new things that had emerged in all aspects of work must be encouraged and that the revolutionary spirit and a high sense of responsibility in work must be brought into full play.

INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

March On Along the Road Of Revolution

The Delegation of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) recently published the New Year's message "March Forward Firmly Along the Road of Revolution!" which was signed by its leader Jusuf Adjitorop. The message pointed out that the intensified contention for world domination between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, had increased the danger of a new world war. It strongly condemned the Soviet revisionists for their crimes in ganging up with the Indonesian revisionists to split the P.K.I. and sabotage the Indonesian revolution.

The message said: "With full confidence, we have firmly stepped into

the year 1976, a militant new year for the Indonesian people and other revolutionary peoples of the world to achieve new progress and victory."

It continued: "The past year was one in which the third world countries made further development in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. However, as a result of the two superpowers' interference and contention, especially as a result of the tremendous ambition harboured by Soviet social-imperialism, the Angolan national forces have been split and a civil war is going on there which inflicts enormous sacrifices on the people. A similar condition prevails in the Middle East, where competition and contention between imperialism and social-imperialism have been going on to the detriment of the Arab people's struggle. It is clear that the two superpowers are creating tension everywhere in order to realize their ambition for world hegemony. Certain collusion between them has never brought about any detente, but served as a disguise and preparation for fiercer competition and contention. They are the source of a new world war."

"Taking advantage of the U.S. imperialists' failure in Indochina, the Soviet social-imperialists have made great efforts to expand their influence to the Southeast Asian countries. Therefore, the competition and contention between the two superpowers in this region will inevitably become more and more intense," the message said.

It warmly praised the heroic struggle of the East Timorese people for national independence and strongly denounced the Indonesian Government for its brutal and barbarous large-scale aggression against the Democratic Republic of East Timor. The message said that, as two fraternal peoples, the Indonesian and East Timorese peoples will unite as one in the great struggle to defeat the aggressors.

"Nineteen seventy-six will be the tenth year since the Indonesian Communists, under the guidance of the line laid down in 'Self-Criticism' by the Political Bureau of the P.K.I.'s

Central Committee, rose up again and led the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people," the message noted. It added that since publication of "Self-Criticism," the Soviet social-imperialists had made further efforts to split the ranks of the Indonesian Communists and progressive forces. They had controlled and made use of an Indonesian revisionist renegade clique in Moscow, issuing revisionist documents in the name of the "Marxist-Leninist group of the Communist Party of Indonesia" and stubbornly persisting in mistakes of an opportunist and revisionist line, in an attempt to crush the Indonesian revolution. Since the so-called "Marxist-Leninist group of the Communist Party of Indonesia" had little audience, another name, "the Communist Party of Indonesia overseas committee," was adopted as a new mask. This, again, was in no way able to help them realize their dirty schemes. Therefore, the Soviet social-imperialists urged a handful of Indonesian renegades to present themselves as the "leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia," and once again put out a revisionist document in 1975. They brazenly asserted that "the only road to extricate Indonesia from crisis" was the road of reformism and revisionism.

The message stressed: "The Communists and revolutionary people in Indonesia will always denounce this despicable act of Soviet social-imperialism." "This act of betrayal is bound to meet with resistance and be smashed."

AFRICAN STATES

Determined to Safeguard Zaire

Of late, some African state leaders have held talks and issued communiqus or statements, stressing the need to strengthen co-operation, pledging mutual support in resistance to aggression and expressing the determination to safeguard Zaire.

The heads of state of Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda issued a joint communique in late January pointing out that the three countries pledged solidarity and mutual sup-

port in case of aggression against any one of them.

A joint statement issued by the Presidents of the Central African Republic, Zaire, Liberia and Uganda on January 28 strongly condemned the Soviet Union for its armed aggression against Angola and the criminal bombing of the Zairian border city of Dilolo.

The statement noted that this aggression in violation of the United Nations Charter "is a serious threat to the security, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Zaire, and to the unity and solidarity of the African people as well as to international peace and security."

The Soviet and Cuban armed forces' activities against Zaire and other places in Africa "will probably lead to the recolonization of independent African states," the statement said.

Presidents Bokassa, Tolbert and Idi Amin, it said, "pledged solidarity with the sister Republic of Zaire, with a determination to safeguard her state sovereignty, territorial integrity and security."

On January 10, Soviet and Cuban troops fighting in the civil war in Angola shelled and destroyed the bridges of the railway and highway linking Zaire's border centre of Dilolo and Angola's border centre of Texeira de Sousa. The bridges are of vital importance to Zaire's economy. Over 70 per cent of the exports of the mining region of Shaba and enormous imports for Zaire's mining and other industries and daily necessities for the region rely on the railway for shipment.

In addition, Soviet-Cuban troops heavily bombarded the urban centre of Dilolo and launched missiles on the area, causing serious damage to Zairian institutions and hospitals.

A note delivered by Zaire to the Secretary-General of the United Nations pointed out that the action of the Soviet and Cuban forces "was in fact an act of declaration of war which encroached upon the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Zaire."

ZAMBIA

Full State of Emergency Announced

To deal with the threat to Zambia's borders caused by one big power's intervention in Angola and its schemes for subversion, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda announced on January 28 in a nationwide radio and television speech that Zambia is in a full state of emergency.

He pointed out: "Africa has fought and driven out the ravenous wolves of colonialism, racism and fascism from Angola through the front door. But a plundering tiger is now coming in through the back door." "A number of foreigners and people financed by the foreigners have infiltrated our country," he declared. "The effects of foreign intervention are now being felt in Zambia."

Referring to the sabotage and disruption by some Zambians in the country, President Kaunda said that they were "like an orchestra with an invisible conductor on the pay roll of a social-imperialist power."

He added: "We must stand and fight, and fight we will." "We will take firm action against infiltrators, saboteurs, subversive elements, rumourmongers, criminal gangs of every type, people sowing seeds of discord and threatening peace."

Zambian people from all walks of life recently have held demonstrations and wrote letters to the press strongly condemning the Soviet Union's intervention in Angola and supporting the formation of a government of national unity in that country and the Zambian Government's stand on Angola.

Commenting on Zambian President Kaunda's proclamation of a full state of emergency, the Zaire Press Agency pointed out that "Zambia, the second target of the Soviet Union after Zaire, will not be the last, because the Soviet Union is still preparing this invasion, stock-piling a large amount of war materials inconsistent with the actual dimension of the conflict."

"One must expect the worst as more arms and troops are being dispatched," the press agency noted.

Namibian People's Liberation Struggle Supported

The United Nations Security Council discussed the question of Namibia from January 27 to 30. A resolution on Namibia adopted unanimously on January 30 condemned the South African racist regime for continuing its illegal occupation of the territory of Namibia.

The resolution demanded that the South African authorities put an end to their policy of "Bantustans" and the so-called "homelands" aimed at violating national unity and the territorial integrity of Namibia, release all Namibian political prisoners, and abolish the application in Namibia of all racially discriminatory and politically repressive laws and practices.

In their speeches, many representatives expressed support for the struggle of the Namibian people and condemned the brutalities and criminal activities committed against them by the South African racist regime.

Speaking at a meeting on January 28, Chinese Representative Lai Yali noted that African unity and the struggle of the people in southern Africa are in jeopardy because of the rivalry between the superpowers. The development of the situation in southern Africa has enabled the African people to see with increasing clarity the danger of "letting the tiger in through the back door while re-

pulsing the wolf at the front gate." Therefore, only by linking the struggle against racism with that against superpower interference, subversion and divisive activities can African unity be preserved, the continued victorious advance of the struggle for national liberation be promoted and the complete liberation of the whole continent of Africa be achieved.

He pointed out that the way to solve the Namibian question should be: The correct position in the relevant U.N. General Assembly and Security Council resolutions previously adopted on Namibia must be adhered to; the South African authorities must immediately end their illegal occupation of Namibia, withdraw all their troops and administration from the country and let the Namibian people achieve their independence free from outside interference.

POLISH PUBLIC

Call to Upholding National Sovereignty

Strongly desiring that national sovereignty be upheld, the Polish public has protested the insertion of an article on the alliance with the Soviet Union in the draft amendments to the Polish constitution.

Under the headline "Poles Fight Closer Link With Russia," the *Sunday Times* reported on February 1 that the draft amendments to the Polish constitution want the alliance

with the Soviet Union "to be incorporated in one of the constitution's articles instead of its present mention in the preamble." "This would give the alliance the force of law and bind Poland more tightly into the Soviet Commonwealth," it added.

The report said that "a series of protests have been made since the amendments were proposed." It noted that hundreds of Polish citizens including public figures and workers had sent letters of protest. "The latest letter," the paper said, "reflects the traditional Polish national sensitivity to Soviet expansionism." It referred to Poland's "tragic experiences" of having been partitioned by Russia and other countries, which "do not permit the Poles to forget the warnings of history."

The letter said: "The projected amendment of the constitution is openly at variance with . . . trends in the modern world. The unilateral establishment of a constitutional rule of the inviolability of a political alliance with a neighbouring state as a binding internal law would reduce the Polish People's Republic to the role of a state with limited sovereignty. The implementation of this anachronistic political-juridical concept would threaten to degrade the national position of our state."

The *Sunday Times* pointed out that the letter was "strongly flavoured with Polish patriotic sentiment" and the protest campaign of the Polish public "is reaching dramatic proportions."

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between the Cambodian and Chinese people. Throughout our Cambodia, from the vast plains to remote hilly areas, everyone knows that Comrade Chou En-lai was their great comrade-in-arms. Especially after the coup d'état staged by the treacherous clique on March 18, 1970, Comrade Chou En-lai unconditionally devoted his energy to the revolutionary cause of our Cambodia. All these will become shining chapters in the history of the relations between our two countries; at the same time, they will be remembered deep in the heart of everyone of us for ever and ever."

The letter from American friends Ruth Coe and Frank Coe says: "We wish to express to you our heartfelt condolences and sympathy on the death of your beloved husband, Comrade Chou En-lai. When such a

great revolutionary passes away, grief can only be profound, not only in China but throughout the world.

"We were fortunate in having the opportunity of talking with or listening to the Premier many times. We treasure the memory of these occasions, which were of great help to us politically and ideologically. Comrade Chou En-lai was a great proletarian internationalist; and we, along with many, many other foreign comrades, owe him a high debt of gratitude."

The letter from American friend Sol Adler and British friend Pat Adler says: "We wish to convey our deepest condolences to you over your grievous loss. We trust that you will draw strength from grief and that Comrade Chou En-lai's immortal achievements will not only be a permanent consolation but also continue to be a source of inspiration to you, as to all of us."

ON THE HOME FRONT

Shenyang's Flourishing Industry

SHENYANG, an ancient city in northeast China, has gradually become one of the country's major industrial centres since its liberation in 1948. With more than 2,000 factories, big and small, the city provides other parts of the country with metallurgical equipment, precision machine tools, heavy-duty machines, prime movers and other industrial products.

After liberation, in the spirit of arduous struggle and self-reliance, Shenyang workers rebuilt their own industry on the ruins left by the Japanese imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries.

Throughout those years of restoring production, the workers, unstinting in their efforts, ran their machines day and night and overfulfilled state quotas every month. During the First Five-Year Plan period (1953-57), the city rebuilt, expanded and set up industrial enterprises on a large scale with huge state investments. As a result, it was built into an industrial centre capable of making a great number of complete sets of equipment on its own.

Today, the broad masses of workers in Shenyang are full of confidence in executing the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The Shenyang No. 3 Machine Tool Plant has made rapid headway in production since the First Five-Year Plan. Its total industrial output value in the Second Five-Year Plan period was 3.8 times that of the First Five-Year Plan period, and the output value doubled in the Third Five-Year Plan period. During the Fourth Five-Year Plan period, up until the end of last October, the plant's output value was more than 4 times that under the Third Five-Year Plan. Both the output and variety of products by the transformer factory have increased greatly since the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution and they basically meet the needs of China's developing power industry.

Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, the Shenyang No. 1 Machine Tool Plant has formed a "three-in-one" designing contingent comprising workers, cadres and technicians. They not only transformed all culmed products into new advanced ones with Chinese characteristics but also designed and turned out new-type modern machine tools.

In addition, some new industrial enterprises are coming into being. In 1965, there were only 17 radio factories producing some components and simple accessories. Now there are over 80 such factories turning out not only radios and TV sets but also integrated circuits for use in industrial production, data processing and various types of electronic computers, as well as electronic computers capable of doing over 100,000 calculations per second, video recorders and other advanced equipment and instruments.

Light industry also has moved ahead at a quick pace. Before 1970, other parts of the country supplied 70 per cent of the articles for daily use sold on Shenyang's market; now 80 per cent are made locally, with some items shipped to other places. With the development of the film industry in the past few years, the city now produces more than 20 kinds of new light sources for film projection,

various types of lighting equipment for shooting films, optical lens, portable projectors and some accessories. Some of them are up to advanced levels.

Poetry-Composing Gains Popularity

POEM-WRITING has been thriving among the masses in Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started in 1966. Filled with confidence after studying the two newly published poems by Chairman Mao, poem-writers are determined to write more and better poems in the new year.

Recitations of poems are often held and leaflets of verses distributed in many of the three municipalities' factories, villages, P.L.A. units, schools and shops. Reciting and commenting on poems has become a popular cultural activity, with people reciting the poems they have composed themselves. Members of the Hunghsing People's Commune in Peking's Tasheng County have written 90,000 poems in the past two years. During the same period the 600 pupils of the Hsizupel Primary School in Peking's Western City District have presented some ten thousand rhymes. The Hsiaochinching Brigade in Paoli County, Tientsin, has become famous for the widespread love of poetry among its members. This led to the publication of *Selection of Poems From Hsiaochinching* by the Tientsin People's Publishing House last year.

Warm praises of Chairman Mao, the Communist Party, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and socialist new things are common subjects in the poems from all the three municipalities, where poem-writing is characterized by mass participation and close connection with present-day struggles. The Peking Working



Reciting poems during a break in a rural production team.

People's Palace of Culture has over the last three years sponsored 140 poetry recitations with themes related to the central tasks of various periods. In Shanghai several recitations have been organized under the titles of "Eulogizing the Great Cultural Revolution," "Deepening the Study of the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "Praising the Revolution in Education." In this way poems have become a weapon for dealing blows at the enemy and songs to encourage the people to continue the revolution.

Poem-writing contingents composed of workers, peasants and soldiers and professionals are constantly developing in these municipalities. Tientsin alone now boasts 600 amateur worker-peasant-soldier poets.

Party organizations at various levels have paid attention to strengthening leadership over these contingents. Poem-writers are often organized to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, criticize the revisionist line in literature and art and swap experiences. The worker-peasant-soldier amateurs are urged to retain the fine qualities characteristic of their classes and the professionals are called upon to go deep among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and learn from them.

Kwangtung — Sugar Producing Base

KWANGTUNG Province is being built into a sugar producing base. With a warm climate, plentiful rainfall and long growing period, this southern province is one of China's major sugar producers. While paying attention to grain production, people in various parts of Kwangtung expanded sugar cane production last year, increasing the total acreage to an all-time high. Sugar cane was grown over large tracts of land and planting was also undertaken in a big way in autumn.

According to incomplete statistics, Kwangtung has set up 28 sugar-cane plantations each embracing an area of from 300 to 600 hectares and some

100 smaller ones as big as 60 hectares each. In 1975, sugar cane output in many places was higher than the previous year—a result of earlier planting and more careful management; per-hectare output in a large number of production teams averaged 150 tons.

Sugar refineries were built in Kwangtung last year on an unprecedentedly large scale. Altogether 31 were built or expanded, and daily cane-milling capacity rose by 11,000 tons. Every newly expanded sugar refinery has brought quick returns with little investment as a result of technical innovations and the spirit of self-reliance displayed by the workers and staff. At the refineries under construction in the newly opened-up sugar cane producing areas, equipment installations are being speeded up so that operation can begin on schedule.

Soon after the start of the harvesting season, all of Kwangtung's sugar refineries, big, small and medium-sized alike, have swung into production.

New Results of Scientific Research

▲ A new method of increasing the fertilizing effect of ammonium bicarbonate was recently devised by the Nanking Institute of Pedology. Granulating the powder and applying it deep underground not only raises the fertilizing effect about one-third but also reduces its volatility. Results of experiments show that, compared with the same amount of ammonium bicarbonate applied as powder on the ground, the granulated chemical increases the output of rice by 15 per cent, wheat by nine per cent and maize by 18 per cent.

In co-operation with factories concerned, members of the institute have trial manufactured a granulating machine for this chemical as well as a simple device to apply the ammonium bicarbonate grains deep in rice fields, thereby facilitating their use over a large acreage.

▲ A reverse osmosis conduit installation for the conversion of saline water into fresh water was recently trial produced by the Lanchow Institute of Glaciology, Cryopedology and Deserts.

When the salinity exceeds a certain amount, the water cannot be drunk by men or animals and is detrimental to plants. The distribution of saline water covers some 30 per cent of the area in northwest China. The new installation desalts the saline water and converts it into fresh water which men and animals can safely drink and which is also suitable for irrigation or industrial use.

The Lanchow institute started work on this installation in 1971. With the help of related units, they made the component elements and put up the installation. When it was completed, they put it into operation in desert areas for four months and collected extensive scientific data. Now the institute is making further studies and experiments so as to improve the installation.

▲ The Chinghai Institute of Salt Lake recently evolved a new method of manufacturing iodine by replacing acids with chlorine water.

By using this new method, a high output of good iodine can be produced at 30 per cent less cost. In addition, since this manufacturing process leaves a minimum of harmful waste water, it is beneficial to environmental protection.

Iodine is an indispensable raw material in industry, agriculture and medicine. The old method of producing iodine in China called for the use of sulphuric acid and hydrochloric acid. This involved not only high costs and produced large amounts of waste water, but more important, consumed quantities of the two acids which are important raw materials for producing chemical fertilizers.

This new method of making iodine is now being used in a number of areas in China.